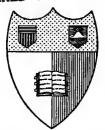
Cornell University Library HD 6665.A64H92

Robert Applegarth, trade unionist, educa

3 1924 003 755 679

TRANSFERRED TO I L R LIBRARY



Cornell University Tibrary Ithaca, New York

BOUGHT WITH THE INCOME OF THE

SAGE ENDOWMENT FUND

THE GIFT OF

HENRY W. SAGE

1891

THE MARTIN P. CATHERWOOD LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS



AT
CORNELL UNIVERSITY

6516 E 297

ROBERT APPLEGARTH: Trade Unionist, Educationist, Reformer.



The original of this book is in the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in the United States on the use of the text.



Dandanuelza PApplerant,

ROBERT APPLEGARTH:

Trade Unionist, Educationist, Reformer,

Вy

A. W. HUMPHREY

(Author of "A History of Labour Representation")

THE NATIONAL LABOUR PRESS, Limited, MANCHESTER & LONDON.

TIB TIB

(29/2) (29/2)

6516

A457831

TO

THE MEMORY

OF

WILLIAM ALLAN, GEORGE ODGER,

DANIEL GUILE, AND EDWIN COULSON,

WHO,

WITH THE SUBJECT OF THIS VOLUME, STOOD STRONG FOR THE PEOPLE IN

ANXIOUS

YEARS.

166 - Jags - Ola

Property of
MARTIN P. CATHERWOOD LIBRARY
NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL
INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS
Cornell University

CONTENTS.

									Page
Author	's Pref	ACE	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	ix.
INTROD	UCTION	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	xiii.
I.	(1834-1 GLE- LIFE	-AM	Boyho Erica-						1
IT.	(1862-18 LEAD		OUTI	.оок 	AS	TRADI	E UN	ION	17
III.	(1862-1	871)	OF Po	LITI	CS IN	THE	'Six	ri e s	50
IV.	(1862-1	876)	THE '	'INT	ERNA	TIONA	L"	•••	84
v.	(1864-1	877)	On L	ABOUI	R Dis	PUTE	s	•••	126
VI.	(1866-1	871)	Гне Т	RADE	Unic	N Co	MMISS	SION	138
VII.	(1866-1 Priv		AGIT	OITAT	N :	Риви		AND	171
VIII.	(1867-1 Cari		TECHI ERS' (RUCT	ion : '	Тнв	191
IX.	(1868-1 Leac			Nat			UCA1	noi:	198
X.	(1870)	War	Cor	RESP	DNDE	NT	•••	•••	233
XI.	(1870-1	871)	RESIG	NATI	о м	• • • •	•••	•••	240
XII.	(1870-1	871)	On a	Roy	àl C	оимія	KOTE	•••	248
XIII.	(1870-1	878)	THE F	`IGHT	FOR	Free	Beir	GES	258
XIV.	(1871-1	910)	To SA	VE I	IFE.	•••	•••	•••	263
xv.			P101			ELE	CTRIC	• •••	277
XŸL	_		LOCA						288
XVII.	(1908-1 Leac	,	THE	Indu 		AL E	DUCAT	MOI.	297
XVIII.	(1909-1	912)	Tribu	TES	•••	•••		•••	302
XIX.	(1910-1	913)	STILL	FOR	LAB	our'	•••	•••	308
INDEX		•••	•••	•••		•••	•••	•••	325

ILLUSTRATIONS

Robert Applegarth	ece.
74	CING PAUL
REDUCED FACSIMILE OF RECEIPT FOR NEGRO	
SLAVE	5
Enlarged Facsimile of Robert Applegaeth's Card of Memberbhip of the "Inter-	
NATIONAL."	95
ROBERT APPLEGARTH (ABOUT 1870)	171

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

HAPPILY, Mr. Robert Applegarth is still living. To write of the life of a living person has its advantage and its disadvantage. The advantage lies in the fact that, if the subject be willing, the assistance he can give is of the utmost value to the writer; the disadvantage consists in the possibility of a belief arising in the mind of the reader that the influence of the living subject, his prejudice or vanity, or both, has adversely affected the historical accuracy of the work. Because of this, I wish to state that any interpretation of events recorded in this volume, and the comments on men and movements, are my own, and that nothing material has been put in, or left out, against my wish; at the instigation of Mr. Applegarth. Mr. Applegarth has been anxious about two things only: that a due share of honour should be given to others, and that nothing should appear which might cause pain to living relatives of men who have gone.

In my opinion, the work of Robert Applegarth and his colleagues—indeed, the work of all those who have aided the struggle of the common people during the past century—took the form of placing the people in a position to help themselves. The Vote and the Ballot, the Right of Combination, State Education—inadequate, but valuable so far as it goes—a

Free and Unstamped Press, and the Right of Meeting; it is these things which have been the achievements of the people during the past hundred years.

But they are only means to an end. Considering what possibilities there are to-day for full and joyous life, the condition of the overwhelming majority of the people is still awful to contemplate. Compared with the progress in the standard of living of the propertied class, the progress of the proletariat, throughout the capitalist epoch, has been infinitesimal. It is the twentieth century which will see the struggle for the place in the sun: the twentieth century in which the weapons won in the nineteenth will be put to goodly use. Of this, the propertied class is aware. Hence, the attempts, in recent years, to cripple the political and industrial power of the wage-earners, the tampering with the right of meeting, the attempted suppression of the unpopular Press, and the flagrant distinction between the liberty of speech and action allowed to wealthy and powerfullyplaced persons on the one hand and workingclass leaders and ordinary citizens on the other.

So, at this juncture in the nation's life, it is well that we should look into history and let it shed all possible light along the path; and well also that we should gather inspiration from the lives of those who fought in days that have gone. To give help in that direction is the purpose of this volume.

To a great extent, the sources of information for these pages are indicated in the footnotes. The letters quoted have been preserved by Mr. Applegarth and placed at my disposal. I think it will be clear to the reader where the narrative has been related to me by Mr. Applegarth personally.

To Mrs. Holyoake Marsh and Dr. Gilbert Slater, both of whom read this work in manuscript, my thanks are due for useful suggestions; but most of all am I indebted to Mr. Applegarth, whose never-failing kindness and patient co-operation have contributed not a little to the accuracy of this volume.

A. W. HUMPHREY.

Ashton-under-Lyne, November 10th, 1913.

INTRODUCTION.

This is a story which future historians will prize, when history learns to concern itself more with the masses than with Ministers. But it is also a story which every Trade Unionist should study, in order to realise something of the struggles through which our present liberties have been won.

My own acquaintance with Mr. Applegarth began more than twenty years ago, when my wife and I were investigating for our History of Trade Unionism and Industrial Democracy. I shall not easily forget my interest and my pleasure in discovering that one of the "Junta" of 1865-71 was still to the fore; nor the kindness with which Mr. Applegarth placed at our disposal, not only his recollections of those stirring times, but also all the documents that he had preserved. Great as are the services that Mr. Applegarth has rendered to the Trade Union movement, these represent only a part of his activity; and I have always regretted that I never found time and opportunity to record his experiences of other public movements for the advancement of the people. The present volume indicates how much I have missed.

I am one of those who think that there can never be too much material for history. For many other reasons, too, the record of such a life as Mr. Applegarth's can never come amiss. But it will be, perhaps, of special interest at the present time, when some are impatient of the slowness of change, and others in despair at the obstacles in the way of any real progress. To all such I am inclined to say, Look back at the pit out of which ye have been digged.

The rate at which social and economic relations in Great Britain are changing, slow as it seems to us who are in it, is yet ever so much faster, when everything is taken into account, than in any previous decade of the past hundred years. Great as are the difficulties that to-day obstruct every advance, they are small in comparison with those which had to be overcome by Francis Place, ninety years ago; or by the indomitable "Junta" of Trade Union leaders, among whom Robert Applegarth was foremost, half a century ago.

If there were one lesson more than any other that I had to draw from Mr. Applegarth's life, it would be that of its freedom from the disease of personal egotism which leads people to cavil at the attempts which others are making to accomplish a common purpose. We do not at any point find this Trade Union leader and everadvancing Social Reformer decrying the efforts and belittling the proposals of all the other Labour Leaders or Social Reformers. On the contrary, he welcomes their co-operation, and joins hands with them for whatever seems to be the social or political business of the hour, whether their

particular panacea is or is not identical with that in which he believes.

It is specially to be mourned when this disease of denunciation and division finds its victims among those belonging to a common faith, or engaged in a common struggle against common Yet I have heard one enthusiastic young fighter in Labour's cause justify his virulent attacks on every prominent Labour Leader who did not see eye to eye with himself, by the astonishing plea that, when you are running a race, the man who is your greatest enemy is the one who is nearest to you! Can it be that it is this amazing semblance of an argument which is responsible for the ill-natured criticisms and cavilling depreciations of the leaders of separate sections of the Great Army, to which so many of its members are addicted? Mr. Applegarth has shown us a more excellent way, in a life marked always by that intellectual tolerance and that good comradeship, without which there is no progress.

May he long live to enforce on us this lesson!
SIDNEY WEBB.

41, Grosvenor Road, Westminster, 14th November, 1913.

ROBERT APPLEGARTH:

Trade Unionist, Educationist, Reformer.

CHAPTER 1.

(1834-1862).

BOYHOOD—THE EARLY STRUGGLE—AMERICA—BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC LIFE.

What is a man born for but to be a Reformer, a remaker of what man has made, a denouncer of lies; a restorer of truth and good, imitating that great Nature which embosoms us all, and which sleeps no moment on an old past, but every hour repairs herself, yielding us every morning a new day, and with every pulsation a new life!

—EMERSON.

AT Hull, on January 26th, 1834, Robert Applegarth was born. It was in the hungry thirties. Robert's father was a mariner, who sailed in the Greenland whalers. For long periods he was away from home. Like many of his fellows, he was generous rather than prudent and, when ten years of age, Robert Applegarth went out into the world to glean something for the family exchequer. He went to work in a shoemaker's shop and the weekly half-crown he received for blacking boots, and doing anything

he was told to do, was a sensible addition to the family income. He had had little or no schooling, but he remembers spending some time at a dame school in order that he might be kept out of mischief.

He saw more of reading and writing than he had ever seen at school when he left the boot shop and went into a merchant's office, drawn thereto by a weekly wage of five shillings.

About this time his father was appointed a quartermaster of Sir James Clarke Ross's expedition which, in the "Investigator" and the "Enterprise," sailed in search of Sir John Franklin, and, while Applegarth senior was away, the son-who had always wanted to be a carpenter—obtained a job in a joiners' shop. He was not apprenticed; few lads were in that trade, at the time. The boys fetched beer for the workmen and played the part of general drudges. But the faculty for making the best of opportunities, which has been such a big factor throughout the life of Robert Applegarth, found play in the joiners' shop. The lad was ready to lend a hand with the work whenever possible; he took advantage of every opportunity to use the tools; he asked questions and he was always willing. In that way he learnt the trade.

After four years in the shop, he was earning ten shillings a week and when eighteen years of age he left Hull and established a little home at Sheffield to which he brought his mother. He was his mother's sole support until her death, which took place about a year later. His father died in 1858; but he was in England but little after the Arctic expedition. Returning from that, he again went to sea in the whalers and eventually was appointed captain of a brig. Abroad he was taken ill and after remaining away a long while returned to England only to die.

In Sheffield, young Applegarth worked sixty hours a week and at the end of the week received twenty shillings for his trouble. While working at one job, he walked thirteen miles to work on Monday morning and the same distance home after finishing, at six o'clock, on Saturday night.

Soon, the young carpenter did what many others had done before him—he loved and married. At twenty-one years of age, he was keeping himself and his wife on twenty-four shillings a week—when he earned the maximum—at other times on less.

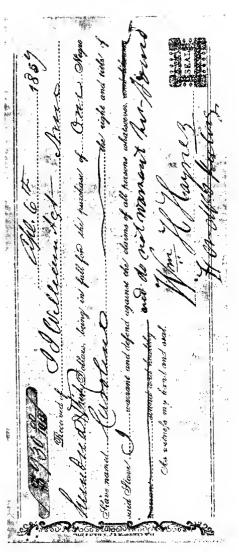
Trade was bad and prospects were not alluring. There was a tide of emigration to the West, the great West towards which the minds of the more enterprising and energetic spirits were turning. Their imaginations were stirred by Henry Russell's lines—

"Cheer, boys, cheer no more an idle sorrow"—which were being sung in all the concert halls. Applegarth read the song in Reynolds's Newspaper, of which he was a regular reader and to purchase the first issue of which he and seven others—in May, 1850—had subscribed a halfpenny a-piece. The tide caught Robert Applegarth. He scraped

together his passage money, cheered his young wife with hopes of the home he would make in the States, and in December, 1854, in a terrible snowstorm, landed bravely at New York with half-a-crown in his pocket.

He was lucky in soon meeting a "Sheffielder," a manufacturer of powder flasks, and Applegarth, always clever with his hands, undertook to fit on the leatherwork; a craft more akin to shoemaking than joinering. As soon as he had earned enough money, he proceeded to Pennsylvania and there his handiness again came in useful. found employment with a chairmaker and although he had never used a lathe before, it was not long before he had mastered turning and was producing legs for chairs. But he had noped for better things and, subsequently, he set out for Chicago which was then far from being a "hell with the lid off." Even the main streets were of a very rough description, with side-walks made of boards. It was at Galesburg. about a hundred miles away, that Applegarth ultimately settled. He obtained employment in the Chicago and Burlington railway depôt and. beginning by making window-sashes, he was later made a stationmaster—that official having been taken ill-and finally worked in the engineer's office. Mr. Applegarth still has in his possession his employé's railway pass which was made out by his "boss"—who had 1,500 men under himto "Robbert Aplegarth"!

While at Galesburg Applegarth had an



Reduced Facsimile of Receipt for a Negro Slave.

excursion which he will never forget. With a party of young men, he went for a trip down the Mississippi, to St. Louis, to see a slave sale. They were too late for the sale, however, and when they arrived they found that the poor human goods had already changed hands and that the overseers were busy bullying and threatening the unfortunate creatures who could not repress their sorrow at separation from friends and relations. In a hotel, close at hand, a number of the slavedealers were drinking. A quarrel arose, knives were drawn and shots fired, and the men fought like fiends. In the struggle, a number of banknotes and receipts for purchased slaves were scattered by the breeze. With others, Applegarth gathered them together. The notes were returned to their owners, but Applegarth kept three of the receipts. "The lessons, and teachings," he says "of Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frederick Douglas, and others, had evoked in me such a detestation of slavery that I felt I had a right to annex these receipts." One of them hangs to-day at the National Liberal Club: the others are in Mr. Applegarth's possession. One reads-"Received of J. J. Williams' agent, nine hundred and thirty dollars, being in full for the purchase of one negro slave named Caroline, the right and title of which slave I warrant and defend against the claims of all other persons whatsoever and I do not warrant her sound." The remaining two are receipts for "a girl named Victoria," sold for a thousand dollars and "warranted sound and healthy," and

"a girl named Violet" sold for eight hundred dollars and "sound and healthy, never subject to no bodily infirmity whatsoever."

Increasing experience of life led to an increased thirst for the knowledge which only books and teachers could give. At Galesburg there was a College and the students started a sort of mutual improvement society at a little chapel. At these gatherings Applegarth and others imparted knowledge of their trades in return for the teaching the students were able to give them. Applegarth was a regular attender. He had already met Frederick Douglas-the freed slave and orator for emancipation-when, one evening, Lloyd Garrison came to lecture at the chapel. Applegarth was asked to move a vote of thanks to Garrison and did so, letting off what he speaks of as his "first bombshell against slavery"; six years before negro slavery disappeared.

All this time he was sending what money he could to his wife in Sheffield. When promotion came at the railway depôt, he earned two and a half dollars a day and, in his comparative prosperity, he dreamed of the time when his wife would join him and they would together make a home in the States. But it was not to be. His wife's health was failing and when, at last, he forwarded her money to bring her to America, she was too ill to come and pleaded for him to return to England. So, in 1857, he set off for Sheffield. Arrived at New York, he had to find some work before he could raise his passage money, but even-

tually he set foot in Yorkshire. It was the turning-point of his career.

Times were even worse than when Applegarth left for America. Work was so scarce that he tramped to Manchester and back in an unsuccessful search for a job. Settling, at length, in Sheffield, he joined a local society of carpenters. His connection with the society stimulated his interest in social problems and forced home to him the need for further education. He did all he could to get it. Mr. Applegarth still treasures two well-worn tickets. One is his ticket of admission to his union, dated May 17th, 1858; the other, his ticket for the Sheffield (Surrey Street) Free Library, dated 1st June, 1858. He made full use of the library; was an eager propagandist of Trade Unionism and Co-operation; became President and then Secretary of his trade union branch; and was foremost in founding the first Co-operative Society started in Sheffield.

Between Co-operation in Sheffield and the Rochdale movement Applegarth was the connecting link, for the co-operative idea was first awakened in him by some of the Rochdale pioneers whom he met at an inn at Manchester. It was after he had tramped from Sheffield that he met these men, and the little group were dining off bread and cheese when one of the pioneers remarked: "Ey, lads, but it 'ud be fine if we could have a Co-op i' Manchester; a place where we could buy everything." The speaker has gone and been forgotten, and so has the little public-

house; but at this same place there now stand the great premises of the Co-operative Wholesale Society.*

The first cause Applegarth agitated in his trade union was stopping the practice of holding the meetings in a public-house. There were many against him. Applegarth was dubbed "a whippersnapper who couldn't drink a glass of beer if he tried." But he won; and the meeting-place was removed to a reading room. It was there that he made his earliest efforts at educating and agitating among his fellows, by opening, and taking part in, the discussions of political and social problems which were held when the business was concluded.

Then ensued events which led to the formation of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners which, from 1862 to 1871, had Robert Applegarth as General Secretary, guiding its fortunes and building it up, from small beginnings, to the position of one of the foremost unions in the country.

It was in 1853 that the operative stonemasons originated the Nine-Hours movement in London. In 1858, the carpenters and joiners fell into line and the movement was actively prosecuted. The men's organisation, however, was loose and scattered. In the building trades only the stonemasons were organised in a single society extending all over England. The carpenters were organised in small groups, often named after the

[•] The inn was the old Balloon Tavern.

public-houses in which their meetings were held, and the landlords of the houses often acted as treasurers. In some cases, surplus funds were invested in brewery companies.* The result of such poor organisation was that the employers treated the men's representatives with contempt and those who composed the men's deputations were frequently discharged. The unions were not in a position to resent this treatment.

At length the crisis came. A mason, after being a prominent member of a deputation to Messrs. Trollope and Sons, of Pimlico, was immediately dismissed. All the masons struck and refused to resume work until the discharged man was reinstated. On July 21st, 1859, the joiners, bricklayers, and labourers joined in the strike and added to their demand for the reinstatement of the discharged mason a demand for a reduction of hours from ten to nine per day. Messrs. Trollope stood firm and, on August 6th, all the master builders closed their establishments in sympathy with them. The masters resolved to continue the lock-out until the strike against Messrs. Trollope was abandoned, and when they did re-open to employ no operative who would not sign the following pledge: "I declare that I am not now nor will I during the continuance of my engagement with you, become a member of, or support, any society which, directly or indirectly, interferes with the arrangements of this or any other establishment, or the hours or terms of

^{• &}quot;History of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners," by F. Chandler (Manchester, 1910).

labour, and I recognise the right of employer and employed individually to make any trade engagement on which they may choose to agree." It was an ancient weapon; it had been used by the master builders in 1834.*

No fewer than 225 building establishments were closed and 24,000 men were deprived of employment. It was a pitched battle between Labour and Capital. Its brightest feature was the magnificent way in which Trade Unionists all over the country rallied to the support of their fellow Unionists in London. The great Amalgamated Society of Engineers made three contributions of £1,000. Applegarth, like hundreds of others, was busy collecting subscriptions for the war-chest.

Faced with such an attack, the Unions dropped the demand for nine hours and held out for the right of combination, and in February, 1860, the "document" was unconditionally withdrawn and, as a substitute, a statement relating to the law concerning trade combinations was hung up in all workshops.

But for the aid from other Unions, the men would have been hopelessly beaten. The carpenters and joiners had learned their lesson. Speaking nearly ten years afterwards, at a gathering of the Carpenters and Joiners in the Freemasons' Tavern, when he presented an address to Professor E. S. Beesly, Applegarth touched on the starting of the Amalgamated Society. "The London lock-out," he said, "induced a number

^{•&}quot;The History of Trade Unionism," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (London, 1894).

of their trade to hold an inquest on the system of 'localism,' and their verdict was, 'the thing won't do.' They then decided to follow the example set by the Amalgamated Engineers, and a start was effected with 11 branches and about 350 members; but as for funds, he feared they were like many a young couple starting in life, full of hope and promise, but with very limited means—in fact they started without funds.''*

The new society was set on its feet in June, 1860. At the end of the year it had 20 branches and 618 members, and the only branches outside London were those at Kidderminster and Devonport. The following year, Applegarth led the organisation to which he belonged in Sheffield into the Amalgamated Society. It became the Sheffield No. 1 Branch.

As, soon after this, Robert Applegarth came into the front rank of Trade Union leaders, it may be well here to note the public attitude, at this time, towards the Unions. A leading article in *The Times*, on August 16, 1859, is a remarkable indication of how ignorant was the general public as to the objects and principles of Trade Unionism, and how widely accepted, as axiomatic, were the common statements concerning trade combinations.

The Central Master Builders' Association had issued an address at the beginning of the lock-out, and, to quote *The Times*, they "put it plainly to the workmen whether the liberty of each indi-

[•] Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners' Report for April, 1868.

vidual operative were not destroyed by the rules and edicts of these tyrannical Unions, and whether a man did not lose his power of selling his labour on his own terms, and whether the masters were not impaired in their professional engagements by interferences and vexations enough to drive capital out of the trade. These questions, the masters put with the greatest confidence, as if impressed with the conviction that nobody would think of denying the facts alleged and as if the case had only to be stated to command universal recognition as the truth. The public will now be surprised to learn* that the assumptions are flatly denied."

The article went on to quote part of what the men had stated in reply as follows:--" That our society shall be governed by laws, and that the members shall be requested to conform to those laws is but natural, and we believe that such is the case in all corporations and every club among the upper classes in Pall Mall and St. James'. . . . These laws are not passed, as the Association (i.e., the Master Builders) assert, for the purpose of restricting the liberty of our fellow workmen and imposing difficulties on our employers. Their object is to provide rules for governing and distributing the funds accumulated by our thrift, to provide for accident, sickness, old age and death. These laws govern all the proceedings of our society, and we invite any person or any employer to inspect them. We have no secrets to keep."

The italics are the present writer's.

Charges of interfering with liberty and dragging down the skilful were denied, and it was this series of denials of which the public would be "surprised to learn."

The Times said the men's statement was "either a dangerous equivocation or a complete answer. It surprises us with the downright denial of the principles hitherto assumed to prevail in Trade Unions, and with assertions only of doctrines distinguished by propriety and prudence." The Times agreed that trade societies might reasonably be expected to include questions of wages in their activities, but went on to say that, "unless we are to discredit our own senses the Unions have gone too far. They would presume on their strength until at length they would make capital the very slave of labour, while their principles have operated with vicious results even on their own members." After admitting that the men had a right to "appraise their own labour," The Times clinched the matter with the then generally accepted economic doctrine: "The value of labour, as of all other things, is what it will bring."

The Times, apparently, was as much "surprised" as the public at the statement of the men for, ten days before (August 5th), it had written:—"The Hyde Park orators talk of the fiendish document which the master builders require them to sign, and think it equivalent to signing away their freedom and their souls. The man who chiefly uses this language is the one

who assumes authority over the men, who has called them together and who has spent his nights in maturing this movement. He is a party then to the imposition of the pledge which binds these men together, and which prevents them from making their own terms with their own masters. He is one of the authors and maintainers of a document which deprives the men of the most important part of their liberty—that of making their own contracts, and deprives them even of their souls, for if they are ever so much attached to their masters, they dare not serve them except on the terms demanded by Mr. Facey* and his colleagues. The question lies between one document and another, the only difference being that the Union document hinds a man to one of the most unjust and mischievous codes ever devised. depriving him, for example, of the use of his hands for an hour, while the master's document binds him to nothing at all but to be his own master.

"They claim all the pleasures and privileges of the masters without their burdens and risks. With singular lack of pride they declare themselves ready to fall back on the workhouse. This is the fortress under which they fight their ignominious warfare. They coolly contemplate the vicissitudes of the building trades, talk of the Gazette, and threaten to drive the employers to the Insolvent Debtors' Court; in fact, they fully recognise that it is the master builder who is

Thomas Grant Facey, one of the men's committee.

the head and heart of the affair, and is the whole pillar and backbone of the trade, but demand for themselves a mastery without risk, except the workhouse, which they seem to think no risk—a mastery of mere caprice and passion; a mastery of all manner of evil but bound to no good."

Such was the common sentiment put calmly and with dignity. The mode of speaking and writing of such matters varied. Mr. Applegarth recalls public references to "greasy mechanics," "filthy operatives," and "the swinish multitude."

Trade Unions were condemned unheard and without trial, while the harsh laws against trade combinations, and the Masters and Servants' Acts, united to deprive workmen of that very liberty for the safety of which the owning class professed to be so jealous. "At Sheffield," Mr. Applegarth has said to me, "I have known working men to be arrested in bed for absenting themselves from work, and tried and sentenced in a magistrate's parlour before their families knew the offence with which they were charged."

It was in August, 1862, that Robert Applegarth was elected General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. He had previously been active in many trade movements in his district, and in June, 1862, he went to London as a delegate to a delegate meeting of his Society, called for the purpose of formulating certain rules. Apparently, it was the impression he then created which led to his election

as chief officer the following August. He immediately threw his whole soul into the work of building up the organisation, and soon became foremost in the Trade Union councils of the Kingdom. He was one of the group of five Trade Union leaders in London who dominated the movement till the rise of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress in the early 'seventies; the group so aptly named "The Junta" by the historians of Trade Unionism. Applegarth's colleagues were William Allan, secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers, Daniel Guile, secretary of the Ironfounders' Society. George Odger, secretary of the London Trades Council, and Edwin Coulson, secretary of the Operative Bricklayers' Society.

The success which attended the efforts of Robert Applegarth, and the views which guided him in his fight for Trade Unionism and the raising of the working class, will be dealt with in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

1862-1871.

OUTLOOK AS TRADE UNION LEADER.

The faith, the vigour, bold to dwell
On doubts that drive the coward back.

—Tennyson.

We are now to see more closely what manner of man it was who, in 1862, was placed at the head of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners. This chapter will treat of the outlook of Robert Applegarth on the questions of the time which immediately affected the working class; and, in following chapters, we shall see something of the various movements in which those questions found expression and in which he played a part.

Applegarth needed no teaching as to the workman's lot; that lot had been his own. His American experience had broadened his outlook and strengthened his love of democracy. In the late sixties, he was one of a Trade Union deputation to John Arthur Roebuck, one of the members for Sheffield. At the end of the interview Roebuck said to him, "You have been in America?" and asked him whether it was there

he had learnt his Radicalism. Applegarth answered, "No; it was hardened and tempered there, but I learnt it from 'The People's Paper,' by Ernest Jones, and 'Papers for the People,' by John Arthur Roebuck "*-a telling retort to the man who had passed from Chartism Whiggery; and an example of Applegarth's aptitude for scoring in discussion. possessed of a dry humour with which he speeches, would brighten his and occasion demanded he could be bitingly sarcastic. He was short of stature but of wiry build; he had keen eyes, coal-black hair, and ample beard. He had not the command of language, the power of declaiming in impassioned periods, which belonged to George Odger in his own day, and to Henry Vincent and Ernest Jones in earlier movements. His strength as a propagandist lay in his clearness and directness; in his capacity for getting at facts and using them to the best advantage. He could build up a case and present it so that it could be understood by his hearers. His voice was out of all proportion to his build; it was a voice which could carry its message to the extremities of the largest hall and peal out over great crowds in the open so that all could hear. He would speak with incisive, but unassuming, gesture; speak and bear himself in a way which seemed to challenge contradiction; impress his hearers with the intensity of his own conviction. So the autumn of 1862 found Robert Apple-

[&]quot; Some Men I Have Known," by Robert Applegarth. New-eastle Chronicle, March 28th, 1896.

garth installed in a house in York Street, Lambeth. This was the office of the Carpenters and Joiners. It was also the private residence of the General Secretary, who was allowed 7s. 6d. towards the weekly rent of 13s. on condition that he reserved one of his rooms for the meetings of the Executive Council. When Applegarth was appointed Secretary he was an outdoor foreman, often earning 34s. per week, and for 33s. he became a "paid agitator." Yet, even out of his scanty salary he paid fees to a writing master in order to improve his crude penmanship, and he found, he says, that as the pen learnt to write better, it also learnt to spell better.

The Trade Unionists of those days expected much for their money; even as they do to-day; but then the organisations were poor. Thus we find that, in 1867, the Hull branch could not agree with the Dublin branch that the General Secretary's salary should be raised above £3; that the Edgware Road branch held that there should be no increase above £3 till 10,000 members had been enrolled; while the Maidstone branch protested against any increase above £2 10s., and declared that the General Secretary was "amply paid for his services." Applegarth never received more than £2 10s. per week.

But he, and those who were in the forefront with him, had no great financial expectations. They knew what was entailed by fighting the cause of trade combination, and they entered the field ready for the hard knocks from without and the

dead weight of indifference within. The first Annual Report issued by Applegarth is evidence that such was the case. "The labours of your Executive," he wrote, "have, for some time past, been arduous and continuous; but when we consider the satisfactory manner in which the society has sustained itself, as is evidenced in this report, after having passed through a severe and protracted ordeal, it is to us an ample reward for the efforts which its management has cost us; for it is well known that every institution designed for the amelioration of the working classes, no matter how sound may be its principles or praiseworthy its objects, no matter how honest or untiring in their efforts may be its promoters to maintain order and discipline and obtain for it a position among the institutions of the country-each in its turn has its trials and troubles." He went on to say how opposition from without continued until opposition was futile, and disputes and contentions within, until the members were convinced that such were opposed to individual and collective interest. Their society could not hope to be an exception to the rule.*

It has been written of Applegarth that, as a Trade Union leader, "he instinctively made use of those arguments which were best fitted to overcome the prejudices and disarm the criticism of middle-class opponents. Nor did he limit himself to justifying the ways of Trade Unionists to the world at large. He made persistent attempts to

^{*} A.S.C.J. Third Annual Report.

enlarge the mental horizon of the rank and file of his own movement, opening out to those whose vision had hitherto been limited to the strike and the tap-room whole vistas of social and political problems in which they, as working men, were primarily concerned."*

This was an accurate estimate of his character, as we shall see by a consideration of his policy while General Secretary of the Carpenters and Joiners; and that he was able to adopt such a policy and at the same time rapidly build up his trade organisation is eloquent proof of his power as a leader of men, for the outlook of the movement. as a whole, was far from broad. He was not merely a Trade Unionist striving for the right of free combination and a legal status for the Unions; he aimed at a movement much wider than trade organisation as then understood. The Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners was modelled on the Amalgamated Engineers, which society had been built up by William Newton and William Allan, and Applegarth always spoke of Allan as his schoolmaster, so far as Trade Union organisation was concerned. Applegarth looked to political power and educational opportunities to raise the working class, and it was the attainment of that power and those opportunities that he regarded as the wise and legitimate object of trade combinations. possessed, in the sixties, the conception of working-class solidarity which is at the present time

[&]quot;" History of Trade Inionism."

being manifested with increasing rapidity. That the better-paid and better-organised trades should help those worse-paid and worse-organised was with him a constant theme. The co-operative idea, which was first given him by the Rochdale Co-operators, in the little public-house at Manchester, took deep root, and banished from his mind any belief in the permanence or wisdom of competition in industry. In 1867, he told the Trade Union Commission that he believed "the time would come when the workman would have, by means of industrial co-operation, a direct interest in every stroke he strikes."*

Belief in the power for good of mutual aid was strong within him, and it is not too much to say that, fifty years ago, he caught the gleam of the coming Co-operative Commonwealth. So had other men before him; but they were not Trade Union secretaries, brought every day face to face with the details and difficulties of Trade Union organisation, and being daily confronted with the reality and great strength of the opposing forces.

Under Applegarth's generalship the Amalgamated Society made rapid progress. In January, 1863, the first Monthly Report—of only four pages—was issued, and as the Reports grew in size they grew in diversity of contents. Reprints of articles on co-operation, education, and other subjects affecting the working class were inserted, and occasionally a review of a book which was likely to prove of particular interest to the

Minutes of Evidence, Q. 6,632.

members. At the beginning of 1867, an "open column," for the use of members, was made a feature.

- "Are you going to open the Monthly Report to members?" said Allan to Applegarth.
 - " Yes."
 - "Ah! they will lash you!" said the old man.
- "Will they?" responded Applegarth. "Well, if I cannot stand all the lashing they can give I'm not fit for my position."

In 1865 a fund was started with the object of presenting a lifeboat to the National Lifeboat Institution, which enterprise Applegarth hoped would "furnish to the world another proof that the efforts and aspirations of Trades Unionists do not tend exclusively in the direction of their own interests, but that, to the extent of their means, they are willing to contribute to the well-being of the whole human family."*

"To teach workmen the practical lesson of self-reliance, to provide during the term of prosperity for the hour of need, is one of our great objects; but the highest duty of Trades Unionists is to teach 'man's duty to man.'" Applegarth wrote thus in the Annual Report for 1870, the last Annual Report he signed; and all along he had acted on the precept he then laid down.

In the seventh Annual Report we find him printing information as to the evil results of the agricultural gang system, with its hardening influence on the men and women, its immorality, and, often, its brutality, on the part of the gangmasters; and he asks—

Can hope look forward to a manhood rais'd On such foundations?

He pointed to the improvement which the carpenters had won during the year, and urged that the more prosperous districts should help the weaker, "not merely as a matter of expediency, but as a matter of justice, and wherever it is possible, to extend that help even beyond the limit of our own society, for there are thousands of good and useful men well worthy of our consideration and support who are twenty-fold worse off than we are. The agricultural labourers, to whom I last year alluded as making efforts to combine for their own improvement, though steadily progressing, are still struggling against many difficulties. These men are entitled to our warmest sympathy."

In 1868 the Society lent £20—as a result of the influence of the International Working Men's Association—to the building operatives of Geneva who were on strike, and a similar sum to the cotton spinners of Rouen, who were locked out to enforce a reduction of wages. The latter loan was transferred from the bronze workers of Paris, to whom it had been granted the previous year, and who no longer needed it. Chairman of the Council of the "International" at the time, Applegarth rejoiced that the acquaintance between the English and Continental workers was becoming "more intimate every year." "What

was considered by Messrs. Creed and Williams,* a few years ago 'a distinctive and peculiar folly of Englishmen,' is now freely resorted to by our fellow-workers on the Continent, and they can point to great advantages as a result." †

The "International" was a powerful influence in bringing the English Unions into the political field, which was the most important change which took place in the 'sixties in the Labour movement in this country. Applegarth was foremost in bringing about the change. Looking back, the way in which the Trade Unionists in the earlier 'sixties conceived industrial action to be, in the nature of things, independent of political action appears very curious.

In 1861 the General Society of Neapolitan Workmen wrote the London Trades Council—to which Applegarth was elected in 1863—asking for information as to the formation of political organisations. The Council, in its reply, said: "We have organisations for political purposes of every description, and those who like can join one or many, according to their views and desires. But we must inform you that our trade societies are

They had investigated for the employers, and issued a report upon conditions in the iron trade.

[†]A.S.C.J. Ninth Annual Report. The proposed reduction of wages at Rouen furnished an instance of the need for international Trade Unionism at the time. At the same period the cotton operatives of Prestor were resisting a reduction of 10 per cent; the workmen of both countries were being squeezed in the competitive struggle of the manufacturers. In the above report the Chamber of Commerce of Amiens is quoted as stating: "English rivalry has become formidable, and has inundated France with its productions. . The English manufacturers, in their ardent covetousness, seek to reduce the manufacturers of Amiens to the rôle of agents and depositories of English goods. Our powerful rivals are determined to supply us, and are endeavouring to prove that in France there is no need of the industry of cotton spinning."

not constituted upon a political basis. . . . Their objects are to promote the well-being of their members in all matters appertaining to their daily toil."*

Such was the attitude when Applegarth took office as General Secertary. He confided to William Allan that he intended to influence his society to take political action. The old Scotsman shook his head. "Have you never heard," he said, "that fools rush in where angels fear to tread?" Applegarth said he had, but he would rush in and agitate for more politics; for politics against laws which kept the workman down, and to provide laws which would lift him up.

And it was needed. We may note some examples of the need.

In the report for October, 1866, there was reprinted a newspaper account of a case before the Sheffield magistrates in which the Secretary of the Table-knife Hafters' Union had been sent to prison for a month's hard labour for a "threat." The secretary had gone to the complainant, who had left the Union, and had asked him if he were going to begin paying again. The answer had been, "No, I shan't. I'll have now't to do wi' it." The secretary had then put the same question to the complainant's son and received the same answer, but this time he replied, "Then we'll make you pay." This was the threat.

"Can we wonder," was Applegarth's com-

^{• &}quot;The History of the International Association," by George Howell. "Nineteenth Century," July, 1879.

ment, "that, after subjecting honest and industrious workmen to treatment like this, their passions should get the better of their judgment and they be led to excesses which otherwise they would regard with perfect horror. . . . A few weeks ago a large employer of labour, in a crowded assembly of employers, urged his hearers to subscribe £100 each to (amongst other purposes) 'strike terror amongst the men.' Though we desire to be excused subscribing to the opinion that terror-stricken workmen would be more advantageous to the employer than workmen who know their own worth, and have sufficient confidence in themselves and their employers to assert it; and although we could not compliment the gentleman alluded to for the wisdom displayed by such remarks, at a time when the feelings of masters and men were so much irritated, yet had one of our members even hinted that the remarks alluded to ought to subject him who made them to a 'month's hard labour,' we should have considered him fast qualifying for a lunatic asylum and treated him accordingly. Yet where is the difference between 'strike terror amongst the men,' and 'we'll make you pay '? The gentleman we allude to is Secretary of the Master Builders' Association. Both gentlemen, believe, were actuated by a sense of duty, and had the Sheffield magistrates attached the same importance to the one as we do to the other, the world would not have been a whit the better or worse for either."

Then Applegarth pointed the moral: "We have wondered in the past when hearing members of Trade Societies cry out, 'No Politics,' if they really understood what they said, and have often been grieved to see the gross injustice to which they have been frequently subjected while they themselves have been parties to their own suffering by neglecting to use the means at their command towards removing the cause of it. . . . What is more natural than that Trade Unions should protect their members from bad laws as well as protect their wages?"

In the February report, 1867, Frederick Booker, a Manchester member, wrote urging that the unemployed labour of the society should be employed by the society in erecting meeting rooms and public halls. Applegarth pointed out that the Amalgamated Engineers had agreed to set apart £10,000 for erecting a central office, and £5,000 for erecting workshops for the employment of their members. That had been in 1856, but when the Council consulted the then Attorney-General (Sir Richard Bethell) and J. M. Ludlow both pointed out that Trade Unions could not legally hold property. The result had been that the engineers' project was not carried out. "It is a standing disgrace to the country in which we live," wrote Applegarth, "that every other institution can invest its funds as its members think fit, while Trade Unions stand 'out in the cold,' although they number tens of thousands of the best workmen in the

land, and have accumulated capital to the extent of hundreds of thousands of pounds." Again, he urged that the machinery of the Unions should be used to alter the law.

When the workmen agitated for the franchise Lord John Russell advised them to "rest and be thankful" with what had been conceded. Applegarth was as little inclined to adopt such a course in regard to the Labour laws as he was in regard to the franchise. The laws to him were "one-sided, and, in many instances, cruel," and the workmen should "'neither rest or be thankful' till they are replaced by wise and just legislation."

"Let us, then," he proceeded, "unite with dignified firmness and rest not till our Unions have that protection to which they are entitled, and I trust that, with such protection and a few more years' experience, we shall have established a new era in the history of labour, have gained the full confidence of our employers, adopted arbitration as the first resort in our differences, and freed our Unions from the expense and anxiety of strikes as far as it is possible to do so, and we might then—' material' as we are—turn our attention to the establishment of a system that would embrace education for the young, employment for our surplus labour, the erection of meeting houses apart from public-houses, as well as homes for our aged members."

Turning from his attitude on politics to education, we find that Applegarth placed the opening

up of educational opportunities before all else as means whereby the position of the wage-earning class could be improved. A believer in the inherent goodness of human nature, he was possessed of a supreme faith in knowledge and intelligence as powers to find the solution to the ills of mankind. At a meeting in the Corn Exchange, Nottingham, in August, 1868, just after Mundella had accepted the invitation of the organised workmen of Sheffield to stand as their Parliamentary candidate, Applegarth urged that Mundella's advocacy of popular education and his qualification to speak on the subject was an even greater reason why working-men should vote for him than his advocacy of Trade Unionism and arbitration.*

The following year, lecturing at Maidstone, we find that he declared that the opposition of employers and men did not arise from a desire of either to oppress the other, but rather from ignorance; from a misunderstanding of the other's position and failure to appreciate the other's point of view. He looked to education to teach all parties better. "Therefore education is inseparable from Trade Unions."

But though he held broad views as to the possibilities of Trade Unionism, Applegarth was none the less eager to defend trade combination as such, as is amply illustrated by his remarks in his society's reports and his speeches in the country.

[•] Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, August, 19th, 1868. † A.S.C.J. October Monthly Report, 1869.

The die-hard argument that the Unions drag down the skilful to the level of the unskilful and rob genius of all incentive was in full bloom in the 'sixties. But Applegarth was never concerned so much with the man at the top as with the man at the bottom. The one could look after himself, the other could not, and, moreover, tended to be a dead weight on the more favourably placed. In 1866, 2,332 members were added to the society, and fifty new branches were established. Many of the new branches had been formed in places where long hours and low wages were the order. "The men," wrote Applegarth, "having heard what can be done by properly-conducted trade societies by well-timed and wisely-directed efforts, and tired of that system of individualism which gives Praxiteles his due and Arkwright, Brunel, and Stephenson 'full scope for the exercise of their extraordinary skill,' but which leaves the thousands less skilful to scramble through a selfish world as best they can, have now resolved to try the humanising influence of such a society, and have joined one, the object of which is to lift up the less fortunate to their proper position and which challenges the proof of ' dragging down the skilful.' "*

He was always quick to illustrate his case from Then, as now, disputes were current facts. pointed to as having a bad effect on trade, the implication being that the Unions were a menace to the prosperity of industry. Applegarth asked

whether the reckless system of contracting might not have something to do with the matter? And he went on to quote from The Builders' Trade Circular to show that the estimates for building a spire in Bath stone for a church at Exeter varied from £80 to £3,157, and for building a church from £4.278 to £9.836 19s., the architect's quantities being supplied to every contractor! author of the lowest tender," Applegarth commented. "can build two churches, a parsonage, and a school for the price the highest requires for building one church; one builder can build a church spire for the price another asks for a labourer's cottage." And he went on: wonder, under such circumstances, how much of the funds of our society will have to be expended in the maintenance of those terms and conditions which have been mutually agreed upon by employers and workmen, but which are often violated with impunity by the author of the lowest tender, not only without benefit to themselves, but with injury to the trade generally."*

The "Circular" pointed to the need of the masters combining to put an end to such "ruinous and absurd competition"; and Applegarth pointed out that it was for the workmen also to combine for their own protection. Masters and workmen should retain a separate organisation, but there should be a connecting link in the form of a Board of Arbitration. "Let there be a Board of Arbitration in every town in the Kingdom; for

[•] A.S.C.J. Eighth Annual Report.

this, the workmen are ready. We shall then, in nine cases out of twelve, arrive at a mutual settlement of our differences . . . and we shall have the time, as we have the means and disposition, to turn our attention to higher aims than squabbling about wages. The evidence our society has already given in this direction, by forming schools and imparting education, justifies us in saying that we are not expecting too much."*

George Odger once came out with the saying that "atrikes in the social world are like wars in the political world; both are crimes unless justified by absolute necessity." Applegarth subscribed to this view and reported with great satisfaction in his Annual Reports the increase in the number of "Codes of Working Rules" to which his society was a party. His support of the system from the point of view of expediency was, of course, largely due to the obvious advantage of avoiding a fight when nothing was to be gained by fighting, but it was also the outcome of a desire to further Trade Union recognition; to bring the employers into closer touch with the Unions and so dispel their prejudice; to reduce to a minimum the enmity of the Unions which strikes generated, and which, at that time, was a peril to the attainment of the legal status at which the leaders were aiming; and it was also his object to get more publicity for the men's case "so that the general public may judge for them-

[•] A.S.C.J. Eighth Annual Report.

selves who are the aggressors in these social conflicts." Applegarth never overlooked the outsiders as the third party in disputes, and greatly favoured the holding of public meetings in which the men's case should be stated. Speaking at a meeting at Chester, in 1866, he said to the carpenters: "If they had any grievances they should write to their employers, and if the employers refused to agree to their terms, or took no notice of the appeal, the best thing to do was, not to strike, but to lay their claims before the public; and the masters would then be compelled to state their objections or the public would pass their opinion, which might be considered the verdict of the jury. If the public agreed with the employers it was of no use for the men to press their case any further, and if public opinion was with the men it would be of no use for the masters to hold out any longer, for it was not out of the employers' pockets that the advance of wages or the reduction of hours would come. In all such cases it was the public who had to 'pay the piper.'" | It was all part of the policy of the time of giving Trade Unionism all possible publicity; and publicity was difficult to obtain owing to the opposition of the Press generally.

It was at a meeting to advocate arbitration that Applegarth first met A. J. Mundella, and their friendship, which ripened with the years, stimulated Applegarth's enthusiasm for the cause of

[·] A.S.C.J. Sixth Annual Report.

^{†&}quot;The English Mechanic," quoted in A.S.C.J. October Monthly Report, 1866.

conciliation. For it was Mundella who had set up the first Arbitration Board which was of any practical value. In the fifth year of the reign of George IV. there had been an Act to amend and consolidate the laws relating to arbitration between masters and workmen, and three other Acts between then and the Councils of Conciliation Act of 1867; yet, when Mundella set up his Board in 1860 it was unique in industry.

Mundella's Board covered the hosiery trade of Nottingham and substituted peace and good feeling for guerilla warfare which had been carried on for years."* Speaking at Nottingham, in June, 1868, Mundella declared that not one strike had occurred while the Board had been in operation, and that never before had such good feeling prevailed between employers and workmen. "They can trust us and we can trust them; and we can sit down courteously, kindly, and happily, and legislate monthly upon questions affecting our trade."† No change in the relationship of employers and workmen could be made by Act of

^{• &}quot;Forty-two employers nut of forty-five have recognised the Board and formed a society to support it, and the ten workmen's delegates who are now elected by the whole trade represent more than 20,000. . The masters . . . on the representations of the men, have decided on never requiring them, even when trade is most brisk, to work more than ten hours per day. The harmony established between them is so complete that for four years not a single resolution of the Board has required to be put to the vote. . . The workmen's unions, which formerly in this business were purely trade societies' and raised no benefit fund, have now hardly any expenses whatever to meet. At the same time that they preserve their power and their organisation they no longer, thanks to the cessation of strikes, have to make heavy calls on the purses of their members; the trifling sum of is, per year suffices for all their needs." ("The Trades Unions of England," by M. is Comte de Paris. Translated by Nassau J. Senior. Edited by Thomas Hughes. London, 1869. pp. 209-212.)

[†] Sheffield and Rotherhom Independent, June 30th, 1868.

Parliament, said Mundella; "it must be done by a commonsense of the employers and the good feeling and good sense of the workmen working hand in hand together, to promote harmony and good will."* And Mundella was right. The question of conciliation is not a matter of organising genius. The most perfect machinery will not only fail to stop strikes, but may even intensify bitterness if there is distrust or a feeling of injustice on either side.†

Though, however, Applegarth opposed the use of the strike while there was any chance of a fair settlement without, it must not be supposed that he regarded it as anything but a valuable weapon, or that he was under the delusion that it was the workmen who were always hardest hit by a stoppage. In January, 1867, he took part in a discussion at a meeting of the Statistical Society. It was opened by Professor Waley, and his subject was "Trades Unions and Strikes." To show the value of the Unions, Applegarth pointed to the table-knife hafters of Sheffield, who, when in Union, received from 26s. to 28s. a week, but when they abandoned their Union, from 14s. to

[·] Sheffleld and Rotherham Independent, June 30th, 1868.

[†] The writer has made no investigation as to the character of the legislation, but it may be mentioned that the Act of 1867 gave workmen and employers power to form themselves into a licensed Conciliation Board. The decisions of the Board were binding. The Board had power to summon witnesses and any who refused to attend could be arrested and imprisoned. This alone was sufficient to condemn the Act. The unscrupulous employer could see his workmen imprisoned for not attending if summoned, and if they attended and gave strong evidence un behalf of their comrades might victimise them. Moreover, a Council had no power to "establish a rate of wages or price of labour"; so that the Boards were useless so far as wages disputes were concerned.

18s.; and to the fork grinders who, ten years before, with no Union, received 10s. to 12s. a week, but, at the time he was speaking, when they were organised, received 30s. to 36s. "In but few instances in his own society had an advantage been conceded without resort to a strike; but the frequent strikes they were compelled to engage in showed that, in the aggregate, during 1865, by increased wages and reduced working hours, 4,000 of their members had received an equivalent to 3s. 3d. per man. This cost the society in loss of time an average of £1 15s. per man, leaving them £6 14s. per man better off during the first year."*

Applegarth's opinion on "free" labour may well be gauged from his writings in reference to the "Free Labour Registration Society" of the 'sixties, which pourtray a scorn approaching bitterness which, in him, was rare. The Free Labour Sociey had a half-pay Colonel for its secretary and he found his way to the Bankruptcy Court owing to heavy expenses incurred in forming the society. Applegarth quoted a newspaper paragraph which made the announcement one of the Union reports† and headed it: "A Caution to Meddlers and Pedlars: or Free Labour Registration Societies and Their Results." In May, 1869, the Free Labour Society announced that if it did not receive more help it would have to cease its operations owing to the "insufficiency of support

^{*} A.S.C.J. February Monthly Report, 1867. † April Monthly, 1868.

afforded by the employers of labour and upper classes of the country."* "The Colonel," wrote Applegarth, "is going down in sight of land, and no one seems inclined to throw him a rope."†

"What." he asked, in his eighth Annual Report, after pointing to the advantages gained by the society for its members during the year, "what has 'free labour' to show as a set-off against this? Let the records of the Bankruptcy Court speak for its leader and the Workhouse for the led. Let an employer of labour read for himself the effusion of the 'Honorary Secretary' of this all-important 'Registration Society' which is to rejuvenate the working classes and discover, if he can (amidst the mass of abuse and general invective he indulges in) the germ of conciliation and peace. Such language we are prepared to repudiate and denounce, even though it came from the most illiterate workman. How, then, does it become a 'gentleman' and one who wears 'Her Majesty's uniform '? It is a matter of little wonder that 'scarcely any large employer of labour has taken a kindly interest in its progress' or that 'very many employers have distinctly refused to employ non-Union men.' They have no taste for the worthless leavings of the trades; they wish for no connection with men who desert the ranks of their fellows, for well they know that the workmen who rely on the assistance and patronage of others, instead of relying on their own exertions, are not

[•] Liverpool Mercury, May 15th, 1869; quoted in A.S.C.J. June Monthly Report, 1869.

[†] A.S.C.J. June Monthly Report, 1869.

the men to serve the interests of the employers; and by his (the secretary's) own admission, it is clear that the employers have determined to hold no intercourse with those who, while lecturing workmen on their follies, copy the very worst of them-that of noisy declamation."

Commenting on a statement by Richard Cobden, that no good could come of "fraternising with Trade Unions," which were "founded upon principles of brutal tyranny and monopoly," Lord Morley has written that the disappearance of the early vices of some Trade Unions was "due in no small degree to an active fraternisation with the leaders of the workmen themselves by members of the middle class, who represented the best moral and social elements of the public opinion of their time."* The influence of these middle-class friends of Trade Unionists and Trade Unionism was, however, of far greater importance in its effect of lessening middle-class fear of, and prejudice towards, trade combinations. Applegarth had a very keen appreciation of the powerful influence of middle-class supporters. When a man with the private and public reputation of A. J. Mundella stood as the avowed candidate of the Unions at Sheffield, in 1868, what could the employing class say? It would be unjust to assume that middle-class men turned the Trade Union leaders from paths of violence. But of this we shall see more later.

The leaders of the 'sixties were always eager

^{• &}quot;The Life of Richard Cobden," by John Morley (London: Edition 1905).

to co-operate with the genuine friends of their cause, no matter to what class or calling they belonged. We have noted how Applegarth's friendship with Mundella dated from 1863. was also constantly in touch with Mr. Frederic Harrison and Professor Beesly-who, with himself, are the sole survivors of those who fought prominently for Labour in the 'sixties-and with the late Judge Hughes-Tom Hughes, famous for "Tom Brown's Schooldays"-Henry Crompton, the son of the late Judge Crompton, and then a rising young barrister, and J. M. Ludlow, who afterwards became Registrar of Friendly Societies. Charles Neate, the member for Oxford. and formerly a Professor of Political Economy in the University, Godfrey Lushington, later Permanent Under-Secretary for the Home Department, and his brother, Vernon Lushington, were also among the friends of Applegarth and his colleagues.

When the law decided, in 1867, that the Boiler-makers' funds were not entitled to the protection of the Friendly Societies Acts, and so threatened the whole of the Unions with deprivation of what little security they then possessed, it was Applegarth who called the "Conference of Amalgamated Trades." The only societies represented at the first meeting were the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, the Amalgamated Engineers, the Ironfounders' Society, and the London Operative Bricklayers' Society. George Odger was the

[•] For some account of the work of this Conference, which was such an important influence up to the passing of the Trade Union Act of 1871, the reader is referred to "The History of Trade Unionism."

delegate of the London Trades Council, and he. with the General Secretaries of the four Unions named-Applegarth, Allan, Guile, and Coulsonand a few other delegates from the same societies formed the Conference. But Hughes was specially invited to the first meeting and attended. and at the weekly meetings of the five workingmen leaders one or more of the middle-class advisers were usually present. After the first meeting only the five secretaries attended regularly, so the "Conference" was but the Junta. Applegarth was its secretary and his minutes "reveal to the student the whole political life of the Trade Union world."*

Applegarth would preach Trade Unionism under any auspices, and his reputation was such that he was invited to speak at meetings of the Social Science Association, and—as we have seen -the Statistical Society. He was glad to go because, as he told the Statistical Society, "so long as workmen discussed those questions among themselves and pondered over their grievances, real or imaginary, and so long as such gentlemen as composed the society read essays and discussed them among themselves, neither would be much the wiser, nor would the evils complained of be likely to be remedied; but by discussions between the two, much good would result."

In July, 1868, at the rooms of the Society of Arts, Gladstone presided over a meeting of the Social Science Association called for the purpose of considering seven resolutions concerning the

^{· &}quot; History of Trade Unionism."

laws of labour and the relations of masters and The first resolution well sums up workmen. the orthodox attitude towards the Unions: "That . . . 'strikes' and 'lockouts,' now of frequent occurrence, the interference with private judgment by harassing regulations regarding piecework, over-work, and so forth, and the intimidation so often employed in enforcing such regulations and maintaining 'strikes,' although they may result in a temporary victory on either side, tend in the long run to lower both wages and profit, show a great and lamentable ignorance of the natural laws which regulate wages and demonstrate the importance of at once taking measures to remove the ignorance."

Applegarth spoke in seconding an amendment to the resolution, which was moved by J. M. Ludlow, an amendment which reduced the motion to the statement that strikes and lockouts showed "a great and lamentable ignorance of the interests which employers and employed have in common, and of the duty which should bring together all classes of society." The resolution had been moved by Sir James Kaye Shuttleworth, who had declared, "Individual freedom in the bargain for wages, as in other social acts, is an offspring of civilisation, the fruit of knowledge, selfrestraint, and respect for the rights of others. To it we must look for the growth of a common civilisation which will arouse in all classes more generous sympathy with each other." *

[•] The amendment was accepted by the mover on the ground that there was no wish to quarrel over technicalities.

This was typical of the owning class; but the Trade Unionist had the extra shillings in his pocket and the greater length of leisure to set against the theorists. "My experience," said Applegarth, "has taught me that combinations result in the increase of wages and decrease of hours. No sentiment should be brought into the subject. The employés are like the employers in trying to get as much as they can for as little as possible."*

Sitting near Applegarth was John Ruskin, who presented the following series of questions, which he thought should be put to eminent economists. They will, I think, bear quoting.

- (1) It is stated in a paper read before the Jurisprudence Section of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, and afterwards published at their office, that without the capitalist, labour could accomplish nothing. But for long periods of time, in some parts of the world, the accumulation of money was forbidden, and in others it was impossible. Has labour never accomplished anything in such districts?
- (2) Supposing that in the present state of England capital is necessary, are capitalists so? In other words, is it needful for the right operation of capital that it should be administered under the arbitrary power of one person?
 - (3) Whence is all capital first derived?
- (4) If capital is spent in paying wages for labour or manufacture which brings no return (as

the labour of an acrobat or manufacturer of fireworks) is such capital lost or not? and if lost, what is the effect of such loss on the future wages' fund?

- (5) If, under such circumstances, it is lost, and can only be recovered (much more, recovered with interest) when it has been spent in wages for productive labour or manufacture, what labours and manufactures are productive, and what are unproductive? Do all capitalists know the difference, and are they always desirous to employ men in productive labours and manufactures, and in these only?
- (6) Considering the unemployed and purchasing public as a great capitalist, employing the workmen and their masters both, what result happens finally to this purchasing public if it employs all its manufacturers in unproductive labour; and what if it employs them all in productive labour?
- (7) If there are thirty workmen ready to do a day's work, and there is only a day's work for one of them to do, what is the effect of the natural laws of wages on the other twenty-nine?
- (8) Is it a natural law that for the same quantity or piece of work wages should be sometimes high, sometimes low? With what standard do we properly or scientifically compare them, in calling them high or low, and what is the limit of their possible lowness under natural laws?
 - (9) In what manner do natural laws affect the

wages of officers under Government in various countries?

(10) If any man will not work neither should he eat. Does this law apply to all classes of society?

These, he said, were questions which he had carefully considered, and proposed "in a most loving spirit, on behalf of the workmen of England." *

In April, 1870, Professor Stanley Jevons lectured to the Social Science Association on "Industrial Partnerships," and there, again, Applegarth defended the Unions from the usual charges: that they fixed a maximum rate of wages; that they were on the road to bankruptcy; that the knowledge which built up business did not come from the men's side. He further expressed the opinion he holds to-day, when the copartnership system is spreading. "Some years ago," he said, "he had been much in favour of industrial partnerships, because he thought everything would be of value that would give the workman an insight into the difficulties of the employers; but he was strongly of opinion that the plan would cut two ways, and he feared that it would content the working men with their position and in that way be mischievous."†

Applegarth's reputation as an educationist was such that, in 1870, he gave evidence before the

Morning Star, July 6th, 1868.
 † Report of Proceedings.

Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science, which sat under the chairmanship of the Duke of Devonshire, and he pointed out what Continental nations were doing for their people while England stood still. He told the Commission how the members of his society, in classes they had formed themselves, were trying to learn things appertaining to their trade which they should have been taught as boys. When the late Goldwin Smith was interesting himself in the newly-founded Cornell University, at Ithica, New York, it was Applegarth whom he asked to select four manual instructors, which Applegarth did; two from his own society and two from the Amalgamated Engineers. In 1867, the Society of Arts decided to provide funds for sending workmen from leading branches of industry to the Paris Exhibition, and the secretary, Le Nève Foster, asked Applegarth whom he would recommend. Applegarth named two men from his own society and referred the inquirer to secretaries of other Unions.

And all the time the Union was growing. Applegarth opened the first Irish branch in 1866 and so forged the first link between English and Irish Trade Unionism; and in 1867 the first New York branch was established.

In 1867, Professor Beesly made the society—of which, in the following year, he was made an honorary member—the subject of an article in The Fortnightly Review, and on May 1st, 1868,

The Times devoted a leading article to the Annual Report; matters which seem small to-day, but which were landmarks in the progress and influence of the movement. The Times said the society had "for some time enjoyed an exceptional reputation among Trade Unions for good management, prosperity, and atrength," and graciously admitted that there was "no obviously questionable item in the accounts."

Applegarth resigned the office of General Secretary in June, 1871, for reasons which we shall see later. It will be appropriate to quote here from a letter written to him by Henry Crompton, over twenty years afterwards. "We have too long lost sight of each other," wrote Mr. Crompton, "but I have not forgotten, and shall never forget, our work together in days when the difficulties of the workman's position and the obstacles in the way of his obtaining bare justice in the Courts of Law seemed almost insuperable. The ultimate success of the Labour Law movement, the placing of the workman in the position before the law which he now occupies, was, in my opinion, very largely due to the line adopted and the vigorous and able work done by you in those early days. I regretted your being obliged to resign the position you held in which you exercised so excellent an influence over the whole working-class movement. The results achieved were, in my judgment, moral results, far more than legislative victories."

At the end of 1870, there were 10,178 mem-

bers of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners. The branches numbered 236, and the funds amounted to £17,626 14s. 6½d. This represented great growth. At the end of 1862, there had only been 949 members, 38 branches, and funds amounting to £849 8s. 10d.

Such was the progress of the Union when Robert Applegarth was at the helm. But the better organisation, and the better conditions which resulted from it, were to him but a means to an end. They represented a better foundation for educational work which would lead the worker to strive for such a place in the State as he should rightly occupy. To Applegarth, the Trade Union was only one weapon; it was the most natural form in which the working-class should first realise its common interest, and the strength that lay in unity, as against the utter impotence of men who stood apart. As we have noted, he held that "the highest duty of Trade Unions is to teach 'man's duty to man.'" From the spirit of self-reliance, mutual aid, and solidarity, which Trade Unionism engendered, he looked to political power, educational opportunity. and the extension of Co-operation to win freedom and real life for the wage-earner. More than any of his contemporaries, he may be considered the pioneer of the working-class movement in this country, as we now know it; Political, Industrial, Co-operative, and Educational; with a growing tendency to closer union of the four branches.

OUTLOOK AS TRADE UNION LEADER. 49

Table compiled from Annual Reports showing growth of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners under the General Secretaryship of Robert Applegarth.

December		No. of Memhers.		No. of Branches.		Balance in hand. £ s. d.			Average per head of Members. £ a. d.	
1862	•••	949		38	•••	849	8	<u>10</u>	•••	Õ 17 103
1863		1,718	•••	53	•••	2,042	11	3		1 3 94
1864		3,279		81		4,566	10	0월		1 7 10
1865		5,670		134		8,320	13	7		1 9 44
1866	•••	8,002		187	•••	13,052	4	31		1 12 73
1867	•	8,022	• • •	203	•••	15,153	11	21/2		1 17 84
1868		8,733		218		17,179	16	11		1 19 4
1869		9,305		224		17,626	14	6 <u>¥</u>	•••	1 17 103
1870	•••	10,178	•••	236	• • • •	17,568	19	4	•••	1 14 10
June. 1871		10,475		242	•••		•			•

[•] It was not customary to make these returns in the Monthly Reports.

CHAPTER III.

1862-1871.

OF POLITICS IN THE 'SIXTIES.

The foundation stones of liberty are the graves of the just; the lives of the departed are the landmarks of the living; the memories of the past are the beacons of the future.

-ERNEST JONES.

Few remain of those who stood by the side of Robert Applegarth in the struggles of the 'sixties; of the working-men leaders all but Mr. Applegarth have joined the great majority.

In those stormy years, years in which the masses won their way inside the Constitution and laid foundations which would enable them, in the industrial field, to gain the strength which comes from unity—in those years, Robert Applegarth was always in the fighting line.

The first legislative fruit of Trade Union political activity was the Act of 1867, which remedied the gravest injustices of the law of master and servant.* How uncompromising was Applegarth in the fight for a more equitable law as between

[•] See "History of Trade Unionism." Chapter V.

employer and employed we see by the proceedings of the London Trades Council, in September, 1863. Early in the year, the Glasgow Trades Council had begun an agitation against the Master and Servant Acts, and invited the Trades Councils of the big towns to combine in a movement against the pernicious laws. In September, resolutions from Glasgow came before the London council.

Applegarth moved the adoption of the resolution advocating the transference of the power of settling cases between masters and workmen from the magistrates to the County Courts—or to the sheriffs in Scotland. This was a matter on which there was general agreement, and no one quarrelled with Applegarth when he expressed the belief that it was "a very sound proposition, as justices were very often directly or indirectly interested in employers of labour, and had frequently given unjust and prejudiced decisions which had called forth the severest denunciation from some of our leading statesmen, as well as literary men and newspaper writers."

But the next resolution proposed that workmen should only be sent to prison in default of payment of a fine, and that, in no case, should the imprisonment exceed three months. Applegarth moved, as an amendment, that the workman should have the right to pay the fine in instalments, spread over two months, and that imprisonment should never exceed fourteen days.*

[•] Minutes of the London Trades Council, September 15th, 1863.

A heated debate followed, which was resumed the following week, and the general feeling, at the outset, was that Applegarth's proposals were altogether too revolutionary. Applegarth stuck to his guns and won the day. In winding up the debate he told of the case of a carpenter who had been engaged for a week and who, because he left work on the Saturday a few hours before his time was up, was taken before a magistrate and sent to prison for three weeks!

Applegarth was present at the conference of trade delegates which was held in London in May, 1864, to formulate a plan for amending the objectionable laws, and he played his part in all the subsequent agitation, "lobbying" and deputations which led up to the Act referred to above.

In 1864, a situation arose similar in some respects to that created by the Insurance Bill, but on a much smaller scale. It led to a deputation to the Government which was the first in which Applegarth took part.

On February 11th, Gladstone introduced the Government Annuities Bill, which facilitated the acquirement of Government Annuities through the Post Office. The Bill roused no hostility from the Trade Union movement as a whole, but a small section opposed it on the ground that it was detrimental to friendly and trade societies. This section was headed by George Potter. Potter was editor of The Bee-Hive, a Labour organ, and was a member of the London Trades

Council. A good speaker, and possessed of much energy, he could usually draw a crowd, and he figured in many of the London movements of his But he never held an important position in the Trade Union world, and lacked the sagacity which was needed in the leaders of that day. He was not fitted to be a leader and would not be a follower in the regular army of Labour; so he violently opposed the Junta and headed a movement against it whenever opportunity offered. After the introduction of the Annuities Bill he organised a meeting in Exeter Hall, on March 5th. It was a big meeting, but few were there as delegates of trade or friendly societies. The Bill was roundly denounced, and the gathering made sufficient impression to be referred to in Parliament by Gladstone himself.

"Nothing," said the Liberal leader, "is more satisfactory and congenial, nothing more harmonious with the best English ideas than to see men of the labouring classes associating together, in the true and real spirit of self-government for the purpose of providing against the contingencies of old age, sickness, and death; and on societies of such a sacred character I would not lay a finger."

He went on to say that he was told that "the rigid rules of arithmetic" bore hard on some such societies, though he believed that many paid their way. "But seeing the multitude of evils and abuses which are thriving in rank luxuriance, I do not think we could hold our hands. . . .

We all know how difficult it is, with regard to these friendly societies, to keep them out of harm's way-we know how apt they are to meet in public-houses and how much of their funds are liable to be expended there. We know what grave oppression is practised upon minorities who object to such arrangements, how impossible it is for minorities to resist and how that principle of tyranny among the working classes of one portion over another—that great reproach which still adheres to those classes is fostered and encouraged."

Then came the reference to the Exeter Hall meeting. "The chairman," said Gladstone, "was a Mr. George Potter; I believe that is a name which is well known. Is it not Mr. Potter who is the far-famed secretary of the Trade Unions? And is not a principle of those Trade Unions, which, of all voluntary associations, are particularly, and in the highest sense, legitimate, and such as give the labouring man his fair right of self-defence against capital—is there not, unfortunately, among the great body of those Trade Unions a principle of coercion of minorities?"*

Hansard 3. S. Vol. 175.

^{**}Hansard S. S. Vol. 175.

As a further illustration of Gladstone's view of friendly societies it is interesting to quote a letter which appeared in The Bee-Hive, of April 8th, 1864, and which he had written to a country clergyman who feared the Bill would injure a village friendly society. "I know of nothing more useful, more laudable, more truly English and Christian than a well-constituted friendly society. We seek to provide for those—and they are many—who are unable to avail themselves of such societies. Among a labouring population of some 24,000,000 not more than 2,000,000, or one-twelfth, are in friendly societies. . . . of any class or kind. . . Friendly societies will be in danger when with the idea of self-government they allow their affairs to he in the hands of managers at a distance whom the members can no more control than the electoral body without the House of Commons could

To this utterance Applegarth called the attention of the London Trades Council, and much feeling against Potter was the result. It was decided that Applegarth, Odger, and Coulson should wait on Gladstone and defend the Unions from his charges. The deputation was received by the Chancellor and Odger pointed out what had been pointed out over and over again: that the only coercion in Trade Unions was expulsion for disobeying the rules; but, he added that certain societies thought their interests would be affected by the Bill and had no confidence in the Government owing to the violation of its promises about the franchise. "We have been sufficiently misrepresented elsewhere," said Applegarth, "without having the weight of the Chancellor thrown against us."

Gladstone, in his reply, said: "I was certainly under the impression that trade societies are generally coercive bodies. . . . I am happy to find that they are not so; not to the extent I expected. I entirely admit the right of workmen to combine in a Trade Union for the defence of their wages; it is the only means they have of defending labour against the power of capital. But, at the same time, I consider that any man should be at liberty to sell his labour on what terms he chooses. . . . I think the remarks about the franchise quite justifiable; the Liberal Party in the House of Commons have failed in

control the Queen's Government; they will be in danger when their rules and tables have not been, beyond all doubt, ascertained by competent and instructed authorities to be, not merely legal, but wise and prudent. Lastly, they will very often be in danger when they transact their business at the public house,"

their duty in this respect. The franchise ought to be extended to the working classes and I regret that the classes who gained their franchise by the efforts of the working classes now seem little disposed to admit them to a share of political power."*

It was in 1864 that Garibaldi visited England and received such a great popular welcome, organised largely by the London Trades Council. As one of the Reception Committee, Applegarth met the General at Nine Elms station, and, with Howell and Mr. (later Sir William) Leng, of The Sheffield Telegraph, drove with him to Stafford House, the residence of the Duke of Sutherland. One of the General's sight-seeing excursions was to Barclay and Perkins's famous brewery, and thence he was accompanied by Applegarth. Garibaldi was very anxious to shake hands with the drayman who, four years before, had tumbled a truss of hay on to Marshal Baron Von Haynau, the General's old foe in the war for Italian independence. Haynau was an unscrupulous brute who had tortured political prisoners and publicly flogged women, and while he was passing through the brewery a workman pitched the hav on him as he was going through one of the lower rooms. A shower of missiles followed, and the luckless soldier was chased off the premises and had to seek shelter in a large dust-bin behind a public-house hard by.

The incident led to diplomatic correspondence, but the Home Secretary held it was impossible

[.] Bee-Hive, April. 9th, 1864.

to discover the originator of the attack, or single out those who participated in it. So the greeting of the ringleader, by Garibaldi, was rather a delicate matter. But Applegarth rose to the occasion. He arranged that the workman in question should hold the head of the first horse on the right as the General entered, when the fine animals were drawn up for his inspection. Thus was Garibaldi enabled to grasp the hand of the man he wished to meet. Then he drank the health of the workmen of England, the pewter pot he used being split into fragments immediately afterwards and distributed among as many men as possible, as mementos of the great occasion.

In the afternoon, Applegarth was again with the General at a concert at the Crystal Palace; twice he dined with him at Stafford House and twice at Charles Seely's, and Garibaldi and his sons, Menotti and Riciotti, gave him their autographs—since presented, handsomely framed, to the Bishopsgate Institute, London—in acknowledgement of the many little services he had rendered; for Basso, Garibaldi's valet, spoke little or no English, and was thus much hampered in his duties.

By this time the agitation for the vote was gathering force. As far back as 1862, the Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association was founded, and in November of that year it issued an address to the Trade Unions of the Kingdom. The address was written by Applegarth, who was

one of the founders of the Association and a member of the sub-committee which had the matter in hand. This document is chiefly interesting as showing how the political Trade Unionists were coaxing their non-political brethren into political activity. It was stated in the address:—

"Our numbers and our position as skilled artisans of this country give us an influence which, if wisely directed, would greatly advance the interests of the toiling masses of our fellowcountrymen in every direction. Hitherto, our efforts have been directed to the removal of one evil only, forgetting, or only partially remembering, that all the evils under which we suffer have a common origin-namely, an excess of political power in the hands of those holding a higher social position. We do not wish you to relax one iota of your efforts in reference to the amelioration of our social condition. Our advice is to be more than ever united for the purpose of reducing the hours of labour, and for advancing its price. Nor do we wish to turn our trades societies into political organisations, to divert them from their social objects; but we must not forget that we are citizens, and as such should have citizens' rights. Recollect also, that by obtaining these rights we shall be able more effectually to secure our legitimate demands as Unionists. Our object is, therefore, to create an organisation for the purpose of obtaining our rights as citizens; or, in other words, our just share of political power.

The objects sought to be obtained by the present organisation are precise and definite—namely, registered manhood suffrage by the ballot. Upon these two great principles we take our stand, and invite the whole of the Trade Unionists of this country to co-operate with us until our agitation is crowned with success.

"Let us work, work, work—unitedly, consistently, and persistently; and our voice will be heard within the walls of Parliament. The friends of Progress there will support our demands, and Sovereign and people will, at no distant date, celebrate our victory."*

Of this Association, Odger was chairman, Thomas Grant Facey, secretary, and William Petheridge, treasurer.

"We base our demand," it was stated in a preamble to the rules, "on the God-given right of every man to equal political rights; and we affirm that, as every man is compelled to subscribe to the national expenditure, all have a right to be represented in the National Executive." A rule of the organisation was "that moral agitation alone be employed such as meetings, petitions, circulars, addresses, deputations, and requesting to be heard at the bar of the House of Commons in favour of the principles of the Association."

In 1864 the Reform League was founded. Here, again, Applegarth was one of the earliest members. He was prominent at the great

^{*} Reynolds's Newspaper, November 23rd, 1862.

demonstration which the League was prohibited from holding in Hyde Park, on July 23rd, 1866. The meeting was prohibited by proclamation of the Commissioner of Police, and when the procession arrived at the park the gates were closed and a line of police was drawn across them. a carriage, in the procession, rode Edmond Beales, a barrister of some repute, the President of the League, Robert Applegarth, George Howell, the secretary, and Major Dixon, the The crowd was enormous, but the carriage drew as near to the gates as was possible. Beales opened the door, intending to proceed to the gates and demand admission, but so great was the crowd, which surged on every side, that he paused on the steps, and, raising his voice, demanded admission to the park. A tremendous cheer went up, but the reply came back that the gates would not be opened. Beales asked on what authority, and was told. In the meantime, Applegarth had left the carriage, with the intention of forcing his way to the gates and personally demanding admission. But, in the crowd, he missed the gates and eventually found himself close up against the railings. Inside the railings was a line of police, backed by a line of cavalry. The pressure of the crowd was fearful. and increased as hundreds of people flocked down the Edgware Road. Applegarth folded his arms and tried to keep the crushing weight from his ribs. Then, without any aggressive movement on the part of the crowd, the park railings began

to give. In a few seconds they were over, and, like a great river breaking through a dam, the crowd rushed, or were tumbled, into the park. The soldiers opened their ranks to let the crowd come through, and Applegarth kept his feet and got away safely, though all round him the batons of the police were battering the heads of the people. In the meantime, the carriage had gone to Trafalgar Square, where a great meeting was being held, the President being minus his gold watch and chain, which were stolen in the thrilling moment when he demanded the right of entry to the park. Such is Robert Applegarth's story of the park and the people on that famous day.

The railings were not torn up by the people; but it is not unreasonable to assume that the governing class was badly scared. That class was much impressed by the large and frequent demonstrations of working men. It was not forty years since the great disturbances which preceded the Reform Act of 1832. True, all the leaders of the Reform movement of the 'sixties were opposed to physical force; but so were the foremost men in the earlier movement. In both cases the people wanted the vote and meant to get it.

Applegarth took part in all the great demonstrations organised by the Reform League. When a great procession marched to the Agricultural Hall he secured for the Carpenters and Joiners a banner as big as the authorities would allow in the streets. On one side he had painted

the motto: "Deal with us on the square; you have chiselled us long enough!" From the other side, he sent to the Unions the message: "Those who say politics will injure Trade Unions have yet something to learn!"

To-day, when great Labour demonstrations are so common it is amusing to look back and consider the fear and annoyance with which the ruling classes in the 'sixties regarded the great gatherings of the workers, and to read their protests in the columns of The Times. In December, 1866, the London Working Men's Association, with the help of the Reform League, arranged a great procession which was to take place to the grounds of Beaufort House, where a big meeting was to be held. The report spread that the men in procession would number 200,000; though, as a matter of fact, they did not number 50,000 on the great day. So "An Old Staff Officer of the Indian Army," and other like personages, wrote letters to The Times, making elaborate calculations to show the enormous time the procession would take to pass a given point. "There is every prospect of something dreadful coming to pass," said one. "Certain death seems to await a number of innocent men who will be led to death to satisfy the vanity of a few who know not what they do, but who can make no recompense to those who have lost their lives through the vanity and ignorance of their self-constituted leaders."* "As a householder," wrote "May-

[•] Times, December 1st, 1866.

fair," "I shall aid in keeping the peace, as far as in me lies, by strictly forbidding my family and servants to leave the house during Monday."

But the self-constituted leaders did not turn back, and the vote was won.

At the General Election, the following year, the significance of the new power of the working class made no greater impression in any single instance than at Sheffield. Throughout the contest in that town Applegarth figured very prominently. Sheffield was represented by Mr. Hadfield, who was in no way a pronounced Radical, and J. A. Roebuck, the employers' big gun in the war against the Unions. The organised workmen of Sheffield set out to defeat Roebuck at the poll. They first invited Mr. Richard Whiteing to be their candidate and he addressed a meeting; but Mr. Whiteing's social ideals were beyond the workers of Sheffield and the matter was taken no further. Then it was that Applegarth advised William Dronfield to write to A. J. Mundella, and Dronfield did so on behalf of the Sheffield Association of Organised Trades, of which he was secretary, and the Sheffield branch of the Reform League. Soon afterwards, Mundella met Dronfield, but he gave no definite answer; his consent was given to Applegarth, who travelled specially to Nottingham to see him.

"If," said Mundella, at the first meeting of his prospective constituents he addressed, "if I am a capitalist employing a thousand workmen I am a combination in myself. I am complete, and I am more than complete if I have an understanding, which I can have, with my fellow manufacturers. If my workmen deal with me singly I can knock them down one at a time. . . . Combination for legitimate objects is the right—nay, it is the duty—of every man."*

There could be no greater testimony to Mundella's earnestness in the cause of the Unions, or to his morsl courage, than this fight he fought at Sheffield. The notorious outrages of certain trade societies were still fresh in the public mind. Although the Trade Union Commission's Report had done a good deal to dispel middle-class prejudice against the Unions, Sheffield was still under a cloud; to the opponents of the Unions it was the home of assassination in the cause of trade combination. Yet Mundella stood as the champion of Trade Unionism in the very centre of its worst associations, and even had he been defeated his action would have been a great service to the cause.

Mundella having consented to stand, Applegarth set to work to create a public opinion in his favour. In the columns of the Independent, under the heading "A Cloud of Witnesses," appeared many testimonials to Mundella which Applegarth had collected; letters which came from working-class organisations, hig employers, and public men. He wrote for an opinion to Samuel Morley, the Radical member for Nottingham, who, later, sat on the Consulting Com-

[•] Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, June 30th, 1868.

mittee of the Agricultural Labourers' Union, and Morley, in his reply, paid a high tribute to the success of the Arbitration Board which Mundella had established in the hosiery trade of Nottingham. As a result of the Board the trade had known "nothing of those disputes and strikes" which had been the cause of pecuniary loss, bitterness, and sometimes violence, in former days, and the result had been without any feeling of injustice on either side.

The Liberal leader was among the men Applegarth approached in his endeavour to further Mundella's candidature, and to his letter Gladstone replied as follows:—

"My opinion respecting Mr. Mundella is a very strong and decided one, and there would probably be no occasion on which it would not be both a duty and a pleasure to me to state it, except the occasion in connection with which you write. But, as I understand the matter, there are three candidates in the field for Sheffield in connection with Liberal opinion or the Liberal Party, two of whom are in direct opposition to each other, Mr. Mundella being one. Now, it appears to me that it is for the people of Sheffield only to decide between them, and that any opinion given by me, at this moment, respecting the abilities, character, or services of any of the candidates. would constitute a virtual interference, and would carry me beyond the line of my duty. Under these circumstances I am sure you will excuse my silence."

A letter which Applegarth wrote to the Independent, when forwarding others for publication, is an illustration of the attitude of the working-class leaders of the time, showing as it does how they sought to dispel any notion that they harboured the idea that politics must be carried on on the lines of a class struggle, and how they sought to demonstrate their belief that the working class, given the opportunity, could work amicably with other classes in political and social effort.

"We have had," he wrote, "some dismal forebodings as to the method in which the working classes would use their newly-acquired power; especially has it been imputed to Trade Unionists that they would 'Launch their votes in one compact mass against the institutions and the property of the country.'* Well, here we have the first example of the working class using that increased power, in Sheffield above all other places. The Sheffield workers have selected as a candidate for Parliament one in whom they have full confidence, and one in whom they believe they have a faithful representative of their interests. And who is the candidate they have selected? Is he a 'firebrand' from among their own ranks: a blind advocate of their interests regardless of the interests of others? No; he is an employer of labour who, by extraordinary energy, ability, and an honourable life, has won the position he now occupies and is equally respected by his fellow manufacturers as he is by

This statement was made by Robert Lowe, in the House of Commons

his workpeople, and the feeling of admiration of his great ability and high character is fast spreading throughout the Kingdom? And Because while employers and men have elsewhere been engaged in conflict that is often injurious to both, he has, for the past eight years, battled successfully with the prejudices of both employers and employed in his own district, and has substituted for an almost chronic state of social warfare a system of even-handed justice, a business-like for a barbarous method of adjusting questions affecting the vital interests of the nation; and this system, under his advice, and by his personal assistance, is spreading to the chief centres of industry, which surely all must regard as one of the greatest blessings. From an employer's point of view his election must surely be desirable, as his increased influence would the better enable him to carry out the mission of peace he has so nobly begun. The system of arbitration of which he has been champion, to the employers means a feeling of confidence and certainty when contracting for work; a spirit of 'give and take' when bargaining for labourconsiderations of no small importance, and the absence of which has caused severe losses to both employers and workmen in the past."*

The day following the publication of this, Mundella wrote a letter of thanks to Applegarth in which he said: "Your able and generous letter in the *Independent* should be of much service.

[·] Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, August 1st, 1868.

Mr. Leader* writes me in congratulatory terms respecting it, and he pretty plainly indicates that it is on the workmen we have mainly to depend. Poor Mr. Hadfield is under such influence or obligation to the masters that my battle must be fought alone. It is a workmen's battle and I prefer it, after all, on this issue. I shall be freer if I am sent by them. I think I shall not disgrace them. Now, as to being a bad master, my enemies have selected one of my strongest points. Come and see for yourself you will find my workmen almost ready to jump out of their skins, they are so angry at the Sheffield slanders."

A crowded meeting was held in Nottingham Exchange, shortly afterwards, in order to refute the attacks made on Mundella. In the course of his speech, Applegarth said: "However much working men may be scolded for want of courtesy and want of respect, I may tell you that I have been a Trade Unionist from boyhood, and have attended hundreds of meetings, but have never seen so much disrespect, so much boorishness and brutishness on the part of working men towards each other as I have witnessed during the Reform debates levelled against Mr. Gladstone."†

The contest was a fierce one. On October 26th, Mundella wrote to Applegarth before returning to Sheffield from Nottingham, where he had been laid up with a cold. "I am taking Mrs. Mundella with me to fight it out to the last, and I

[•] Robert Leader, the then editor of the Independent. † Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, August 19th, 1868.

shall not leave till it is over. Alas! my dear fellow, how badly we need education. I can see education means higher and better things for the working class than I have hitherto believed, sanguine as I have always been . . . It means higher wages. Elected or defeated, I shall not desert the working class. The time will come when they will know their true friends, and, if I do not live to see it, there will be one consolation in having done my duty and fought like a man in a good cause."

On Mundella's behalf, Applegarth addressed many meetings, all the time strenuously championing the cause of the Unions. With Lloyd Jones and Mundella, he spoke at the Temperance Hall and gave some biting criticisms of the Tory candidate, who had described the Master and Servant law as fair.

"I wonder," he said, "what the Springhead spinners, who have had an injunction granted against them for sticking a placard on the wall—and not an offensive placard either—think about it? I wonder what the Sheffield masons would say about the fairness of the present law? Three or four honest, industrious men were dragged away like felons for saying 'Boo!' and 'Black sheep!' under the law that Mr. Price says is just and fair. One man in London was taken before a magistrate, and when the magistrate asked what his offence was the policeman said, 'Please, your worship, he winked his eye in a very offensive manner'; whereupon the magistrate dismissed

the man, telling him he had had a very narrow escape. Is it not preposterous for a Tory barrister to come and tell working men that the law is just, reasonable, and fair, when in Liverpool, Leeds. Sheffield, and the other large centres of industry men have been dragged away to prison for doing, sometimes foolish, but not criminal things? It has ruffled Mr. Price because I have called him ignorant, but I repeat that he is utterly ignorant of the requirements of trade societies and knows little about the laws affecting them."*

Then he proceeded to expose Roebuck's tactics during the sittings of the Trade Union Commission.

"When Mr. Wilson, builder, of Leeds, was under examination. Mr. Frederic Harrison questioned him to show that masters and men both combined for the protection of their own interests. This the witness fully admitted. . . . Mr. Roebuck then said, 'I suppose that thieves consider it to be to their interest to thieve.' Was it necessary, in the interests of truth, for Mr. Roebuck to say that? Further, when Mr. Gledhill, the manager of the Griesley Wood Colliery Company, was under examination, Sir William Earle asked him for information concerning some men who had been brought in to fill the place of other workmen, but who would not stay. The witness said the men told him they could not go to work—they dared not. . . . Sir William Earle asked what was the language the Unionists used.

[•] Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, November 14th, 1868.

and the witness said it was this, 'You are come to take the bread out of our mouths and out of the mouths of our families.' Well. I should have thought a distinct answer like that would be sufficient; but Mr. Roebuck said, 'Were there no threats of violence?' The answer was, 'No, there were no threats of violence.' Surely that was answer enough, but not even that was sufficient. He said, 'Did they put it another way? Did they say, if you come to take the bread out of our mouths we will do so and so?' The employer replied, 'No, they did not say that.' That employer, though he was engaged in a vexatious dispute with his men, was more candid, more generous, more honest, and had a greater regard for truth than John Arthur Roebuck."*

At the same meeting, Mundella expressed a wish to see Applegarth in Parliament, and added, "He is an ornament to his class and I know some of the best men in the country are proud to call him their friend."† During the election—which resulted in the return of Mundella—the Independent regretted that no seat had been found for Robert Applegarth, "as upright, well-informed, and useful a representative of the working class as this country has produced."‡

In 1870, Applegarth was adopted by the working men as Parliamentary candidate at a byelection at Maidstone, and would have gone to the poll had not the official Liberals stolen a

[•] Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, November 14th, 1868.

[†] Ibid.

¹ Ibid, November 7th, 1868.

march on his supporters. Soon after his adoption, Applegarth was requested by Mundella and Forster to meet Sir John Lubbock (the late Lord Avebury) and when the meeting took place he found that, before his supporters knew of the resignation of the former member, the Liberals had circulated news of it to the majority of the electors with Sir John's election address in the same envelope! In the envelope was also a request for promises of votes for Sir John as the adopted candidate, and many promises had already been received. Applegarth's chances looked doubtful and he said he would consult his supporters as to what steps he should take. At this stage, however, he was approached by the Tory agent with an offer to pay all his expenses if he went to poll. What the Liberals had begun the Tories finished. The Tory offer decided him. Applegarth retired, not wishing to risk the capture of the seat by the Tory. "I shall never forget," he has written, "my reception, when I announced my decision at a public meeting in the Corn Exchange. Many of my friends were angry and disappointed and did what men often do when they feel so; but the friends of the Tory candidate were simply furious and their conduct was well described by an American friend of mine, who was present, when he mildly remarked. 'Wal, it's just like Hell let loose!' "* Applegarth worked for Sir John, who won the seat.

[•] Paper oo "Some People I have Known," read by Robert Applegarth, before the Hotspur Club—ao organisation of North-country engineers in London—on March 12th, 1898.

though an attempt was made to turn the Nonconformist vote against him owing to his membership of the Sunday League.† Five years later, when taking the chair at a meeting at New Cross he publicly thanked Mr. Applegarth for having retired from the Maidstone contest.

This was the only time Applegarth was adopted as a Parliamentary candidate; but we may anticipate and note that he was invited to stand more than once. In 1888, negotiations were entered into with reference to a candidature, Mundella being the first to move in the matter, and writing to Applegarth: "I know no man who can work harder, or speak better to working men than you "--but the matter was dropped as Mr. Applegarth was unable to neglect his business. In 1890, the Liberals were looking out for a candidate for the Kirkdale division of Liverpool, and Henry Broadhurst wrote to Applegarth that "our people are very anxious that you should stand." At the same time he was being pressed to stand for Norwich. He then felt himself to be in a position to stand but -as he wrote to Mundella-he thought he might be of more use outside Parliament than in.

A keen advocate of direct working class representation, Applegarth was active in 1869 in the promotion of the Labour Representation League, the first organisation founded in this country for the apecific purpose of returning working men to governing bodies. But the

[†] South-Eastern Gazette, February 8th, 1870.

League used its influence in general public affairs, national and international. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out it issued a manifesto to the working class denouncing "dynastic ambition" as the cause of the conflict, and declaring "it is the duty of the workers to declare their abhorrence of such a gross violation of Christian morality and sound national policy";* and when the French Republic was established Applegarth suggested that the League should form a special committee to encourage it. This was done and Applegarth, who, as we shall see later, had just returned from the seat of war, was appointed secretary. Under the auspices of this committee many meetings were held. At one, in Arundel Street, off the Strand, George Howell moved a resolution congratulating the French on the Republic and calling on the Government to recognise it, and Applegarth moved that the Government should exert its influence to bring about a cessation of hostilities and to "protest against any dismemberment of France as likely to lead to future complications in Europe." "I believe," said Applegarth, "that the great bulk of the working men of Germany are in favour of an honourable peace without any annexation of French territory but they are not allowed to give free expression to their opinion, and those who have spoken in their behalf have been imprisoned by order of the Government.";

[•] See the present writer'a "History of Labour Representation" (London, 1912), which contains an account of the origin and work of the League.

† The Times, September 14th, 1870.

On September 19th, a great gathering took place in Hyde Park, where Odger and George Eccarius, members of the General Council of the "International," spoke, and on September 24th all the forces friendly to the Republic combined in a monster meeting in St. James's Hall, where Professor Beesly and Charles Bradlaugh were among the speakers. Four days later, Applegarth was one of the speakers on a deputation to Gladstone from over a hundred working-class organisations in London and the provinces.

Applegarth's committee collected—apart from a national fund—a considerable sum for the relief of the French peasantry whose crops had been destroyed by the march of the armies.

Applegarth was in Paris after the siege and his passport—a historical curiosity still in his possession—was used several times to pilot Communards out of the country.

He was acquainted with a number of the Communards, among them being M. Legé, who is still living, in London. In 1870, M. Legé was in business in London, as an engineer, but he proceeded to Paris on the proclamation of the Republic. At Boulogne, he was joined by a friend, a moulder. Both were with Flourens' supporters when, with a Battalion of the National Guard, he entered the Hôtel de Ville, on October 31st, and Legé stood guard at one of the doors while the Ministers were imprisoned. Mr. Applegarth, who heard the story from Legé shortly after the event, tells how, in the midst

of the turmoil, the moulder jumped on to the table and pointed his rifle at Jules Ferry.

"Comrades!" he cried, "I've twelve bullets. Give the instruction and I'll shoot the lot of them!"

Flourens—a professor of the College de France at the time—begged for the lives of the Ministers and the instruction was not given.

But Flourens himself was killed. Fighting with great bravery when the Communards marched on Versailles, on the fatal morning of April 3rd, his head was split clean in two with a Royalist sabre.

To turn again to home affairs, Holyoake, in his Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life, has told the story of what he described as the "Scott-Russell plot," and as—as Holyoake states—it was Applegarth who exposed the plot it is worth retelling here. Mr. Scott-Russell was a naval enthusiast who had designed the "Great Eastern," the ship which laid the Atlantic cable; but which was not the success her designer hoped she would be and which was only with difficulty got off the stocks. Mr. Applegarth has recorded the story, and it is hest told in his own words.

"For several years previous to 1871, having not more than a thousand other things on hand, I was much occupied in assisting Professor Fleeming Jenkins and Mr. Buckmaster in the formation of Evening Science Classes in connection with South Kensington, and was introduced

by Jenkins to Scott-Russell. I had only known him as the designer of a ship that was built too big and as the writer of a work on Technical Education which was read too little-until he sent me an invitation to dine with him. I knew him better. At this dinner, William Allan, Dan Guile, George Odger, Lloyd Jones, and others were present. Scott-Russell told us that legislation in the past had all been made the wrong way about, and that he had the authority ot many eminent men for saying that 'if the approval of the leaders of the working classes could be obtained to an entirely new mode of procedure, there would be no difficulty in getting all the reforms we wanted.' We required to know the names of the eminent ones, what they proposed to do, and how they proposed to do it. These were promised for another meeting, at which a draft of the scheme was produced. Scott-Russell having suggested dinner before going on duty, we approved, after which the political bill of fare was read, and we were struck with amazement. It was too good; it was all we had hoped for and more! At this point, someone whispered, 'Waste time,' and I thought I heard murmurs of bad language; but I restrained the impetuosity of one of my friends, fearing he would spoil a page of history. We asked for copies of the scheme, to study at our convenience, and for the names of the high contracting parties. This we were told was not desirable at present. The eminent ones might not approve; but if we would

agree to, and sign, the draft, a copy would be sent us with their signatures. This, in turn, we declined, considering that, if we constructed a brand new constitution for the country in this fashion, like the 'Great Eastern,' it might stick and we might not be able to find rams sufficeintly powerful to push it off the stocks. At this point we decided to do nothing further till the signatures of our unknown noble colleagues were appended to the draft. Scott-Russell tried hard to get us to sign his draft scheme. He assured us that many of the names were those of the members of the House of Lords; into which House it was proposed to introduce Bills embodying the programme, and the Lower House, claiming to represent the people, could not refuse to pass them. This only caused us to call the louder for 'the signatures.' These he promised at the next meeting, which, of course, commenced with a dinner. The draft, which was produced, had been carefully rewritten, and, in the same hand-writing, appeared the names of Lords Salisbury, Lennox, and Manners, Earls Carnaryon and Lichfield, the Duke of techmond, Sir John Pakington, Sir Stafford Northcote, Benjamin Disraeli, and Gathorne Hardy. Previously, Scott-Russell had never allowed the draft to pass out of his hands. But this time I induced him to let me have a look at the names. Allan sat next to me, and I passed it on to him, and, by pre-arrangement, it was passed from one to another—each fixing in

his memory two of the names in the order as we sat. This done, we declined to sign, remarking that the noble ones had not signed as promised; their names had simply been written for them, and, perhaps, without authority. This proved to be so. Late that night I handed the names—with such other notes as I had made from time to time—to my friend, Stephen Girard, of The New York World, and in the newspapers next morning they appeared, with a fairly correct copy of the scheme, which was followed quickly by the repudiations of the noble ones. Thus came about the end of a series of most enjoyable dinners, and the premature death of a new constitution "**

The arrangement by which every one of the working men remembered two names was Applegarth's. Like Holyoake-who did not attend the meetings-he never believed there was anything in the scheme. Holyoake's comment, in the "Sixty Years" is: "Every aspirant for who has ambition power. for personal ascendency, every despot who understands his business, holds out promises of what excellent things he will do if he be only able to secure a position whereby he may be able to act. When the power is once put into his hands he is able to defy those who dare to claim the fulfilment of their expectations, as did Louis Napoleon, who

[·] Hotspur Club paper.

promised great things to the working classes, and shot them when they asked for them."

The publication of this scheme, with the galaxy of titled signatures, created a sensation, as well it might. It included the housing of the working classes in detached homesteads in the suburbs; self-government in counties, towns, and villages, with powers for acquiring the land for public ownership; an eight-hours day; State schools for technical instruction; public markets for sale of goods of the best quality at wholesale prices; public provision of places of recreation and educational institutions of various kinds; and nationalisation of the railways!

All through this period, the movements which sought the support of Robert Applegarth were many and varied. Going through his papers, I find invitations to gatherings of the London National Women's Suffrage Society, in 1871. One was a platform ticket for a meeting in St. James's Hall where Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart., M.P., took the chair, and the speakers were Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Lord Houghton, and Dr. Lyon Playfair, M.P. In 1867, he was to attend a conference for "Promoting the Revision of the Licensing System," and there is a notice the following year of a working-men's banquet to the American Ambassador, Applegarth being sec-He was associated retary of the committee. from the beginning with the Working-men's Club and Institute Union, founded in 1862, and wo learn that in 1867, when the movement was still

struggling to obtain the support of the Trade Unions, "Robert Applegarth is, as usual, downright and heartily in support. But W. R. Cremer is coy; Coulson, Allan, and other members of the Junta are, at best, negatively neutral. Howell is a worker inside the Union."*

In 1869, the Co-operative Union was formed, and from that year till 1872 Applegarth was a member of the Southern Board. Still another of his activities in the 'sixties was membership of a committee for the abolition of capital punishment, among the members of which he best remembers the Rev. G. M. Murphy, a wellknown Radical parson of his time who lectured much on thrift and self-help to working-class audiences in Lambeth. Of the committee and parson Murphy, Mr. Applegarth says: "We collected valuable statistics, adduced unanswerable arguments, produced volumes of indisputable facts, and nearly worried the life out of the Home Secretary, until, I daresay, he wished we were all suspended at the end of a six-feet drop. In spite of all this, we failed to put an end to that time-honoured practice of assisting a man to realise the sure and certain hope of resurrection with a rope round his neck. Like many other good men, Murphy died in harness. cathedral was the Lambeth Baths; his work, which he loved, was amidst squalid poverty; his religion, to do good. If future rewards and punishments be fairly apportioned, comfortable

^{• &}quot;Our Fifty Years," by B T, Hall, (London, 1912).

quarters have been allotted to G. M. Murphy, or a mistake has been made in the calculation."*

But of all the movements with which Robert Applegarth was connected during this period not one was so ambitious as that which was launched in 1862, soon after he took office as General Secretary, and of which, he wrote many years afterwards:—

"The Marquis Townsend proposed the formation of a league for a very praiseworthy object, though some may consider the work contemplated was limited in its scope, and too insignificant in its character to deserve attention. The title of the society was 'The Universal League for the Amelioration of the Condition of the People of all Nations.' Being well up in such work, and able, if need be, to do the job single-handed, I joined the League and attended at its birth with five others. At that time, I was at an age at which one knows everything right from the beginning and previously; since then I have lived long enough to learn much more and know very much less. We met in a room in Greek Street. Soho, and after resolving that the League should be established, and instructing the secretary to take the minutes, we adjourned till the following week when four of us were present. secretary read the minutes, which he had, for want of a better book, recorded on a piece of paper which had contained half-an-ounce of tobacco. We did not set the Thames on fire at

[·] Hotspur Club Paper.

that meeting, and I resigned before the next. The League did not live long, and the objects for which it was formed were not all accomplished before it expired. I fancy that some of them still need attention."*

• Hotspur Club paper.

CHAPTER IV.

1862-1876.

THE "INTERNATIONAL."

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

---Karl Marx.

It is a curious fact that this most remarkable movement of the European working class-the foundation and growth of the "International" -was begun, all unconsciously, by a middleclass project in France; by employers in that country building-from the workmen's point of view-better than they knew. In 1862, an International Exhibition was held in London, and the products of English art and craft were famed The result was that certain French abroad newspapers suggested that workmen should be sent to England to study the methods of the English workman. The idea was supported by French employers and was brought to the notice of Napoleon, to whom the idea also appealed. "The Imperial Commission," it was said, "would neglect nothing in order to obtain from the railroad companies the greatest facilities and exceedingly low prices."* Germany, to a lesser extent, followed suit, and the result was that a party of French and German workmen were appointed to visit the Exhibition. They were sent with the hope that, on returning, they would be a greater source of profit to their employers; but the workmen's eyes were opened to matters undreamt of by their masters.

Karl Marx was then living in London; and he knew that the Continental workers were to visit the Metropolis. Marx was very friendly with Odger and other leaders of the working-class movement in England, and he suggested the entertainment of the visitors. The result was a gathering in August, 1862, at the Freemasons' Tavern, Lincoln's Inn Fields, where Odger read an address which shows that the idea of an International working-class organisation was already entertained by the English leaders; who, throughout the existence of the "International" were inspired by Marx.†

"We think," read Odger, "that by exchanging our thoughts and observations with the working men of different nationalities we shall discover most quickly the economic secrets of society. Let us hope that now, as we have clasped hands, as we see that, as men, as citizens,

^{• &}quot;Karl Marx: His Life and Work," hy John Spargo (New York, 1910).

[†] Professor Beesly has written the following of Marx's connection with the association. "To no one is the success of the association so much due as to Dr. Karl Marx, who in his acquaintance with the history and statistics of the industrial movements in all parts of Europe is, I should imagine, without a rival. "Fortnightly Review," November, 1870.

as labourers, we have the same aspirations and the same interests, we shall not permit our alliance to be broken by those who believe it is for their interests to disunite us; let us hope that we shall find some international means of communication and that every day will form a new link in the chain of love which shall unite the labourers in every country."*

The Frenchmen returned home more concerned about English trade organisations than English craft. Marx, in England, continually stimulated this idea of internationalism events in Europe were, of themselves, helping it forward. The suppression of the liberty of Poland, by Russia, led to the establishment in London of the Polish League, which was largely a working-class organisation. Applegarth was a member and went, with others, on a deputation to Palmerston to urge him to intervene on Poland's behalf. Garibaldi. as we have seen, evoked the enthusiasm of the London workers. A big meeting organised by the Polish League. in April, 1863, was attended by six delegates from France. After the meeting, some of the leading spirits gathered in the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, and the Frenchmen suggested a "grand fraternity of the peoples." This led to the appointment of a committee of English working men to send an address to the workmen of France.+

[&]quot; Karl Marx: His Life and Work."

^{† &}quot;The History of the International Association," by George Howell. "Nineteenth Century," July, 1878.

The address was duly drawn up, adopted by a large meeting of working men at the Bell Inn, and despatched to France. It was mainly the work of Odger and is an admirable illustration of his eloquence.

The document was addressed to "Brethren of France," and began: "Your welcome visit to us, on the occasion of our great meeting, convened to express our indignation at the wrong-doers who have, for so many years, offered the most atrocious insults and cruelties to that noble but unhappy people, has inspired us with the hope of seeing a brighter and happier future for the neglected and despised peoples of Europe.

"That visit could not have had a nobler origin, or a nobler purpose, than the cause of Poland; a cause made sacred by the devotion, the truthfulness, and self-sacrificing heroism of a people whose righteous struggles for freedom have won for them the sympathy and admiration of all the wise and good thinkers in high or low nations of Christendom.

"We were proud to welcome the representatives of the liberty-loving French people who came forward to initiate what has been too long delayed: a grand fraternity of the peoples. No one could have commenced the work with a better prospect of success than the enthusiastic and generous-hearted Frenchmen. . . .

"Kings and emperors have their meetings and visits and their pomp and ceremonies are blazed before the world; pleasing the frivolous and grati-

fying the fortunate; at the same time creating heavy burdens for the honest and industrious poor to sweat under. At these meetings, successful crimes are justified and unscrupulous ministers legalise them and exalt the criminals; while men with the highest talent and most god-like virtues, whose manly bearing quails not before affluent arrogance nor panders to the vices of voluptuous courts, men who advocate the freedom of nations and the rights of the masses are, if they escape death, chained in endless bondage or, with their families, ruthlessly driven forth to seek that shelter and rest from the stranger which are denied them in their native homes. This is a state of things as unworthy of the deeds of our forefathers as it is disgraceful to the age in which we live. We, therefore, caution those who suffer such evils to continue, without using every honourable means in their power to remove them. that they share in the responsibility of neglecting duties, and must, sooner or later, make atonement for such debasing apathy."

The address proceeded to urge the need of conferences of working men "to discuss the great questions on which the peace of the nations depends," and how, by establishing communication between various countries, employers could be checked in their practice of importing foreign labour to break strikes.

"To do these things is the work of the peoples. The few liberties held by the masses were won by themselves and recent experience has shown that the more we trust princes and potentates the surer we are of being betrayed and sneered at.

"We say again, 'fraternise.' Let us have a perfect understanding with all men whose prospects are in peace, in industrial development, in freedom and human happiness all over the world, that the strong and brave, instead of being led forth with fire and sword to kill and destroy to satisfy the craving desire of trade for gold, ministers for place, and despots for conquest, may live to make their homes happy, and use their strength to assist the weak, the aged, and the destitute with the consolation of being free from the miseries produced by war."

The address concluded with the opinion that the first united effort of the French and English workers should be on behalf of the independence of Poland. It was signed, "on behalf of the working men of England" by the committee: Thomas Grant Facey (painter), President; William Cremer (joiner), C. Goddard (bookbinder), John Eglinton (carpenter), George Odger (shoemaker), Honorary Secretary.*

Thus, the movement began by overtures between French and English, but, subsequently, men of other nationalities were invited to join the London Committee and Marx was especially asked to become a member—and did so—and when the International Working Men's Association was founded, at St. Martin's Hall, on September 28th, 1864, men of England.

^{• &}quot;Bec-Hive," December 5th. 1863.

France, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Ireland gathered together, with Professor Beesly in the chair. The French delegates were Tolain, a metal carver, Perrachon, a bronze worker, and Le Lubez, who acted as interpreter.

From Professor Beesly's address, to the breakup of the gathering, great enthusiasm prevailed, "I urge upon all present," the Professor remarked, "to divest yourselves of those selfish feelings, often disguised under the name of patriotism, and to maintain only those principles which your consciences tell you are right and just."*

Tolain read the address of the French workers in reply to that from England. It began: "Brothers and Friends,—Yes, you are right, the feeling that brings us together is a sure indication of a better future for the affranchisement of the peoples. We must have no more Cæsars, with their foreheads stained with crowns covered with blood, dividing among themselves peoples spoiled by rapine of the great, and countries devastated by savage war.

"Once more has Poland been stifled in the blood of her children and we have remained powerless spectators.

"One sunk by oppression puts all other peoples in danger. In the name of his own dignity every

On September 18th, 1904, Professor Beesly wrote a letter to the London correspondent of Humanits, in which he said that, in his opinion, the immediate practical objects which the International might have hoped to attein were the suppression of war and the checking of militarism. In his opinion, that should be the chief aim of modern international Socialism. The International, by Gustav Jaechk, translated into English, from the German, by Jacques Bonhomme. (First published in 1904).

free man, and every man who wishes to be free, is bound to give assistance to his oppressed brothers.

"No doubt we shall have to contend with many obstacles and many will fall in the struggle, but, before it is over, progress and liberty must have their victims. Let us then gird up our loins and prepare ourselves for the fray. Henceforth, the people's voice must make itself heard in all the great questions, political and social, thus letting the despots know that the end of their tyrannical tutelage has arrived.

"Industrial progress, the division of labour, free trade, these are the three new subjects which must fix our attention, for they must modify, to a great extent, the economic conditions of society. Urged on by the force of things, by the wants of the times, capital becomes concentrated, organised in mighty financial and industrial associations and, if we do not guard against it, that force, without a balance, will soon reign despotically. Without treating lightly the advice often given us to economise, we see the future aristocracy take possession of the smallest savings; moved by a charitable feeling and a need to protect us whether we will or no, they excel in a thousand ingenious means in taking from the working man and handling all his capital, instead of exerting his initiative for his own benefit. Our small savings, engulfed in this Pactolus may soon make us humble servants of the princes of finance, while the division of labour

tends to make each workman a piece of mechanism in the hands of the high lords of industry. In the presence of that clever and powerful organisation, everything bends to give way; man, left to himself, is nothing; he feels every day his liberty of action, his independence, Before that, individual energy become less. becomes extinct; all discipline for their profit. Labour is a law of humanity, the source of public wealth, the legitimate basis of individual property. It must be sacred, free, and it can only become so by solidarity. Now, whatever the high priests of political and social economy may say, we affirm that, at present, it is not so. Learned theoricians, pondering on their large books, formulate axioms, the fallacies of which we pay dearly to find out. They seem to look at the question from only one point of view; that of consumption. According to the law of supply and demand the workman is, by them, assimilated in the manufactured article. . . .

"Thus, then, through the want of professional instruction, science has become the privilege of capital. By the division of labour, man is no more than a mechanical agent, and free exchange, without the solidarity of labourers, will only engender industrial serfdom more implacable, and more fatal to humanity, than that which our forefathers overthrew in the great days of revolution. That is not a cry of hatred but of alarm.

"We—working men of all countries—we must unite and oppose an impassable barrier to a fatal system which divides humanity into two very distinct classes—a multitude of famished and ignorant beings and a set of very plethoric and over-fed mandarins.

"Let us save ourselves, by solidarity, to attain that end."*

Then the "International" was founded, two English delegates, G. H. Wheeler and William Dell, moving and seconding the resolution. The preamble to the rules of the association stated "that the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopolist of the means of labour, that is, the source of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence," and "that the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries."

Such was the Socialist basis of the "International," drawn up by Marx. The adherence of Applegarth, Odger, and other working class leaders, to such an organisation, has sometimes been looked upon as inconsistent.† The explanation of their membership is, that Marx, the guiding spirit, although he laid down what he considered to be the right theoretical basis,

^{• &}quot;Bee-Hive," October 1st, 1864.

^{† &}quot;They (i.e. the English Trade Union leaders) subscribed with equal satisfaction to the crude Collectivisim of the 'International,' and the dogmatic industrial Individualism of the English Radicals." "The History of Trade Unionism." Chap. V.

was much more concerned about creating a great working-class party—a class-conscious force—than propagating any theories as to the cause and cure of poverty. A recognition of the fact that all wage-earners' interests were common was, to him, the first great step. Engels, in an introduction to the Communist Manifesto, has pointed out that the various elements in the "International" could not have been expected to at once proclaim Socialism. Marx, he says, who drew up the programme, trusted to the intellectual development which would result from combined action to look after the future. Marx, at his own fireside, expressed the same view to Applegarth.

That Applegarth, Odger, and Cremer—the only English working men of national repute who joined the organisation-should enter the "International" is easy of explanation. Applegarth had never taken the competitive system for granted. The phrase "So long as the present system lasts" occurred in his speeches over and over again. He was an ardent Co-operator, and as we have seen, held that the interests of all wage-earners were common. Unity-mutual aid -had always been his watchword. Odger was a man of large views and wide sympathies. The cause of Poland alone was sufficient to bring him into the "International," and this, as has been noted, was to claim the earliest attention of the association. In addition, Odger's love of political equality was, no doubt, a great influence.

association internationale des ouvriers PIZERRIJONAL WORKING MENS ASSOCIATION MEMBERS ANTAL SUBSCRIPTION CARD.

Enlarged Facsimile of Robert Applegarth's Card of Membership of the "International."

Cremer had already begun his work international peace and arbitration. eager for the over, all these men were spread of knowledge. They were convinced that "by exchanging our thoughts and observaworking men tions with the of different nationalities we shall discover more quickly the economic secrets of society." In addition, the association hoped to prevent, and did prevent, the importation of foreign labour during strikes, and this work made a great appeal to English Trade Unionists.*

The headquarters of the association were in London, where the General Council met in Greek Street, Soho. Applegarth's membership cardsigned, among others, by Karl Marx-is dated January 1st, 1865, and the Carpenters and Joiners became affiliated in June, 1867. At the third Congress, held at Brussels—in June. 1868— Applegarth was elected Chairman of the General Council. The association was then nearing its highest point. At Brussels, the delegates voted in favour of the nationalisation of the land and all means of communication. The majority was small; complaints were made that it was obtained on a surprise vote, and the enemies of the association hoped for a reversal of the decision. At Basle, however, the following year, the delegates declared emphatically for the nationalisation of the land.

[•] It should be noted that George Howell, who never had any sympathy with Social Democracy, and regarded Socialism as a "wild dream," was, for a short time, a member of the General Council of the Association. He even ridiculed Marx. See his article in "The Nineteenth Century," July, 1878.

At the Basle Congress, 78 delegates assembled from America, Belgium, England, France, Spain, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany. America was represented by A. C. Cameron, of the United States National Labour Union, and editor of The Workingmen's Advocate. England sent Applegarth, Hermann Jung, a watchmaker, who was elected President of the meeting—as he was of several Congresses owing to his linguistic attainments-Frederick Lessner, a tailor, who had been with the French revolutionists in 1848. Benjamin Lucraft, then prominent in the London working-class movement, who captured a seat at Finsbury on the first School Board, Cowell Stepney, treasurer of the association, a Welshman of means, and a member of many of the learned societies of Europe, and George J. Eccarius, its General Secretary. Eccarius, a working tailor, was a naturalised German and a thoroughly able man. He wrote some criticism of Mill's essav "On Liberty," which, in a letter to The Times, Mill described as the ablest criticism his work had received.* France sent twenty-six delegates Germany ten, Italy three, Spain two, and Switzerland twenty-eight.

The Congress excited world-wide interest and much alarm among the governing classes. It met at the Café National. In addition to the hall where the business was conducted, there was a large one for nightly public meetings. This hall was packed to suffocation every night during

[•] In this work, Eccarius had some assistance from Marx and Engels.

the week, and "many a capitalist came to see with his own eyes, and hear with his own ears, both in the Congress and in the public meetings."*

The year had seen much industrial disturbance in Europe, and the "International" was blamed for stirring up strife where, hitherto, all had been calm and bright. The ribbon weavers at Basle had had a bitter struggle with their employers, lasting from November, 1868, to the following spring. This was the first strike Basle had known. Its result was a reduction in the hours of labour, with the assurance that legislation regulating the hours of labour should be introduced, a slight increase in wages, andinteresting and most significant—the extension of the years of compulsory attendance at school from 11 to 13.† In March, the men in the building trades at Geneva were on strike owing, according to the Report of the General Council, to the breaking of an agreement by the employers. "As in Basle," we read, "the masters transformed at once their private feuds with the men into a State crusade against the International Working Men's Association. A meeting of the employers of Geneva passed an address to the State Council in which it was stated: 'The

^{• &}quot;Report of the Fourth Annual Congress of the International Working Men's Association," from which, unless otherwise stated, information relating to the Congress is taken.

[†] The Report of the General Council gives no information as to the result of the Basic strike, beyond that "the efforts of the military to subdue the people" failed. The above details appeared in The Pall Mail Gassits, September 10th, 1869.

International Committee at Geneva ruins the canton of Geneva by decrees sent from London and Paris; it wants here to suppress all industry and all labour."

France and Belgium had both seen industrial disputes in which the military had been used unscrupulously. The miners at St. Etienne, Rive-de-Giers, and Fumery had struck for a reduction of a twelve-hours day and a revision of the wages scale. Military surrounded the pits in which men were still working, and sixty miners, who tried to get to their comrades and persuade them to join the strike, were captured. prisoners were marched to St. Etienne under an escort of 150 soldiers, and a crowd of miners. with their wives and children, followed. surrender of the prisoners was demanded, and, the military refusing, the people replied with a shower of stones. Without any warning, the soldiery fired into the crowd and killed fifteen people, including two women and a child. This outrage caused the whole Municipal Council of St. Etienne to resign, as a protest, and even the usually hostile Press joined in a chorus of indig-The Report states that the regiment was withdrawn from the district, but, at the Congress, this was contradicted by a French delegate, who added that the commander had been decorated.

The Council's Report, after a reference to the suppression of strikes in Belgium, goes on to give some amusing instances which show the state

of "nerves" to which the association had driven the authorities. "In the proceedings against our General Committee at Brussels, whose domiciles were brutally broken in by the police, and many of whose members were placed under secret arrest, the judge of instruction finds the letter of a workman asking for 500 'Internationales,' and he at once jumps to the conclusion that 500 fighting men are to be despatched to the scene of action. 'Internationales' were 500 copies of The International, the weekly organ of our Brussels Committee. A telegram to Paris, by a member of the International, ordering a certain quantity of powder, is raked up. After a prolonged search the dangerous substance is really laid on hand at Brussels. It is powder for killing vermin! Last, not least, the Belgian police flattered itself in one of its domiciliary visits to have got at the phantom treasure which haunts the mind of the Continental capitalist, viz., the International treasure, the main stock of which is safely hoarded in London, but whose offsets travel continually to the Continental seats of the Association. Belgian official inquirer thought it buried in a certain strong box hidden in a dark place. He gets at it, opens it forcibly, and there was found -a few pieces of coal!"*

Towards the close of the Report, after their review of much Continental disturbance, perse-

[•] In his recently published autobiography the late August Bebel states that the "International" was always very badly off financially, but that it had "great moral influence."

cution, and brutality, the Council proceeded: "No wonder, then, that England also, had, this year, to boast a workmen's massacre of its own. The Welsh coal miners, at Leeswood Great Pit, near Mold, in Denbighshire, had received sudden notice of a reduction in wages by the manager of those works, whom, long since, they had reason to consider a most incorrigible petty oppressor. Consequently, they collected aid from the neighbouring collieries and, besides assaulting him, attacked his house, and carried all his furniture to the railway station, these wretched men fancying, in their childish ignorance, thus to get rid of him for good and all. Proceedings were, of course, taken against the rioters, but one of them was rescued by a mob of 1,000 men and conveyed out of the town. On the 28th May. two of the ringleaders were to be taken before the magistrates of Mold, by policemen, under the escort of a detachment of the 4th Regiment of the Line, 'The King's Own.' A crowd of miners tried to rescue the prisoners, and, on the resistance of the police and soldiers, showering them, the stones at soldiers-without previous warning—returned the shower of stones by a shower of bullets from their breech-loaders. Five persons, two of them females, were killed, and a great many wounded. So far there is much analogy between the Mold and the Ricamarie* massacres, but here it ceases. In France, the soldiers were only responsible to their commander. In England, they had to pass through

The Quartier Ricamarie, the actual spot where the shooting by the military from St. Etienne, referred to above, took place.

a coroner's jury inquest; but this coroner was a deaf and daft old fool who had to receive workmen's evidence through an ear trumpet, and the Welsh jury, who backed him, were a narrowlyprejudiced jury. They declared the massacre 'justifiable homicide.' In France, the rioters were sentenced to from three to eighteen months' imprisonment and were soon amnestied. England they were condemned to ten years' penal servitude !* In France, the whole Press resounded with cries of indignation against the troops. In England, the Press was all smiles for the soldiers and all frowns for the victims! Still. the English workmen have gained much by losing a great and dangerous illusion. Till now, they fancied to have their lives protected by the formality of the Riot Act, and the subordination of the military to the civil authorities. now know, from the official declaration of Mr. Bruce, the Liberal Home Minister, in the House of Commons-Firstly, that, without going through the premonitory process of reading the Riot Act, any County Magistrate, some foxhunter or parson, has the right to order the troops to fire on what he may please to consider a riotous mob; and, secondly, that the soldier may give fire on his own hook on the plea of self-defence. The Liberal Minister forgot to add that, under these circumstances, every man ought to be

[•] The prisoners were sentenced by Lord Chief Justice Bovill, on Angust 9th, 1869, the judge remarking that "the wonder is hundreds of you (the miners) did not welter in your blood." Bee-Hivs, August 14th 1869.

armed, at public expense, with a breech-loader, in self-defence, against the soldier."*

We may now return to the Congress, having given some indication of the efforts being made by workmen all over Europe, to better their conditions, and of the stern measures of repression which were often adopted. It was the business of the "International" to bring strength to the working-class movement through solidarity.

On Sunday morning, a good number of delegates having assembled, there was a sort of reception something after the manner of the opening proceedings of the Trade Union Congress in this country to-day-except that it was a purely working-class function. Mr. Bruhin, the President of the Basle Section, welcomed the delegates as "Representatives of the World of Toil," and Applegarth and Eccarius replied for the General Council. Applegarth rejoiced that the day had arrived when workmen of different countries could meet to "exchange ideas and express their common wants." He pointed to the stopping of the importation of foreign labour during strikes as a definite result of the work of the "International."

"But," he said, "the 'International' has

^{*}Answering a question on the matter in the House of Commons, Mr. Bruce had said: "The Riot Act was not read. . . . Tha only effect of reading it is to make a riot—which is already a misdemeanour at Common Law—a greater offence which was formerly punishable by death and which, by a recent Act, is punishable with 15 years' penal servitude. The justification of the soldiers in firing before the reading of the Riot Act can be based upon the fact that they were subject to a very dangerous personal attack which justified them, as it would justify any one of us, in using for defence any weapon at our command." (Hansard 3. S., Vol. 196).

done more. It has enlarged the views of the English Trade Unionists and shown them that Trade Unions can be used for higher purposes than simple wage-quarrels, and that an International Union is necessary to attack the evils that oppress us at the root." They had been hampered by lack of funds, but men had worked for love of the cause and the difficulties of different languages would be surmounted while they had men among them with half-a-dozen languages at their command. The spirit and enthusiasm of the Continentals would be an advantage to the English movement; but, on the other hand, the English always sought to apply their principles in the best form that was immediately practicable.

Eccarius put forward the Socialist theory of the class struggle. "The accession of the middle class to political power," he said, "had been the overthrow of the feudal state, and the acquisition of political power by the working class would be the overthrow of capital." The "political love-making" which had gone on between the English working-class leaders and leaders of the middle class, during the Reform movement, could not last for ever. Labour representatives were needed in Parliament and there would be no successful political working-class movement in England until working men had a platform of their own.

On the first day of the Congress, delegates presented reports of events in the districts or countries to which they belonged. After hearing many accounts of the suppression of the right of meeting and police persecution, Applegarth prefaced his story of English affairs by saying: "I have a somewhat different account to give to those we have heard to-day. Fortunately, we, in England, have no need to creep into holes and corners lest a policeman should see us. We can meet in open daylight and organise ourselves, and treat of any questions which affect us without fear."

He went on to tell of the growth of his society and the story of the Trade Union Commission. "When we became earnest," he said, "and it was found that we were united, members of Parliament sprung up in every direction to assist us, and they found their way to the offices of trade secretaries. A law was passed to protect our funds.* The Trade Unions have not only influenced Parliament, but the workpeople as well. The Trade Union Congress of Birmingham has passed a resolution inviting trade societies to join this Association. We have established a Labour League for the purpose of returning workmen to Parliament for removing obnoxious laws. Much that I have heard here were settled questions with us twenty years ago. We have got into working order and we want to extend our alliances all over the world. By proper combination we can help each other to what we want. We are in want of education, and the State must give it free

[•]This refers to the provisional measure passed at the close of the session of 1869, after the Bill introduced by Mundella had been dropped, on the promise of a Government measure.

from religion. You want some of your obnoxious laws repealed and we may help you there. It has been said that English trade societies do not care for the 'International.' The great English trade society to which I belong has joined the 'International,' and many other large societies belong to it. We have a considerable force and the Press and Parliament have already felt its power; it has enabled us to put on the screw and compel Parliament to pass laws in our favour.'**

The questions down for discussion by the Congress were five: The Land Question; the Right of Inheritance; the Credit Question; the Education Question; and the Trade Union Question. The committee appointed to consider the Land Question presented two resolutions: (1) That society has a right to abolish private property in land; (2) That it is necessary to abolish private property in land. The first proposition was carried by 54 votes to 4, 13 delegates abstaining from voting; and the second by 53 votes to 8, with 10 abstentions. With the five other English delegates, Applegarth gave his vote in favour of both propositions. The division of opinion was mainly on the question as to how the land should be cultivated when it was common property, some delegates favouring the leasing of the land to small holders, others, cultivation under the direction of local authorites. Eccarius, who spoke on behalf of the English delegates, urged that the land should be held in fee simple, and

[•] The Times. September 15th, 1869.

cultivated through subordinate communities, and that every advantage should be taken by largescale production, of machinery and science. All the sections of the Congress were instructed to prepare plans, for solving the common-property question, for submission to the following Congress.

On the question of the Right of Inheritance the General Council reported: "What we have to grapple with is the cause and not the effect, the economical basis-not its judicial super-Suppose the means of production structure. transformed from private into social property, then the right of inheritance—so far as it is of any social importance—would die of itself, because a man only leaves after his death what he possesses during his life-time. Our great aim, therefore, must be to supersede those institutions which give to some people during their life-time the economical power to transfer to themselves the fruit of the labour of the many." The proposition placed before the Congress, by the committee which dealt with the matter, was: "This Congress declares that the right of inheritance ought to be completely abolished, and that abolition to be one of the indispensable conditions of the affranchisement of Labour." The voting for this was 32 for, 23 against, and 13 neutral; and, as there was no absolute majority for the resolution, it was lost.

So much time had been spent over the Land and Inheritance questions that the Congress

dropped the subjects of Education and Credit, and turned to Trade Unions. The committee's resolution urged the formation of Trade Unions throughout all countries "to promote the common interests of the working class." The Unions were to be energetically used to improve conditions as much as possible "until the system of wage labour shall be replaced by a system of associated free labour"; they were to be linked together in an international organisation; and the Congress was to charge the General Council to bring about "the international combination of Trade Unions."

It was in this discussion that Applegarth moved a series of propositions, on behalf of the Council, which advocated a "federation of the trades of every nation, as an indispensable condition of the age." One clause of the proposals urged that workmen would have to resort to Trade Unions "so long as the present system of competition lasts," and that Trade Unions were "the best means of imparting that knowledge of order and discipline, and that strict regard for the interests of the whole, which are inseparable conditions to the success of co-operative production." Another clause urged the Unions to agitate for compulsory State education. whole series had been drawn up by Marx and Applegarth, at the former's house.

The proposals fitted with Applegarth's own conception of Trade Unions as a means to an end; to much greater ends than were discerned by the

ordinary Trade Unionist. "I have had," he said. "some years of experience, and so long as the present relations of Capital and Labour continue, so long will Trade Unions be a necessity. The rising generation must be educated so as to make it fit to live in a higher state of social organisation. If you educate the workmen up to co-operative production then the necessity for Trade Unions might cease to exist. My resolutions . . . not only treat the question from the point at which the Unions started, but attempt to show how they will be extended internationally, how they will be developed from their first form to a higher and better form, and how their influence should be used for the extension of education."*

The delegates were impatient to vote, according to the Report, and shortly afterwards, the resolution of the committee was carried.

Anaid much enthusiasm, it was moved and seconded that the following Congress should be held in Paris, in defiance of the authorities. Applegarth gave support to this stand for the right of meeting in a brief speech which was loudly cheered. If, he argued, Frenchmen were not allowed to meet in Paris, then, surely, Englishmen could meet and the other delegates be invited as their guests. "In Paris," he declared, "the next meeting must be held!"

Soon afterwards the Congress broke up amid

[•] The comprehensive educational programme adopted at the last Trade Union Congress (September, 1912), indicates how the attitude of Trade Unionism has changed in this respect eince Mr. Applegath persistently pleaded in the 'sixties for the Unions to further educational work.

shouts of "Vive la République Sociale Démocratique!"

As the most prominent man among the English delegates, Applegarth was especially singled out for reproval by The Times, which deplored the association of Englishmen with the "International," and regarded the works of that organisation as the beginning of the end of all things. The Englishmen sorely disappointed The Times, which, writing without knowledge of how they voted on the Land Question, hoped it might "assume that the six delegates who constituted the minority were our own countrymen." The Times continued, "It is scarcely a matter of congratulation for our national pride to have it in our power to say that, if anything spoken in that assembly sounded like sense, moderation, and fairness, it was an English voice that gave it utterance. Our only wonder is that English working men can ever expect any good, either for themselves or their Continental associates, to come from these gatherings."

To The Times Applegarth's reference in the Congress to the stoppage by the "International" of the importation of foreign labour during strikes represented the only reason why English operatives should establish an understanding between themselves and their brethren across the Channel.

"But surely," the article proceeded, "Mr. Applegarth knows that the importation of foreign operatives is not the only, or the principal, means by which an English 'strike' has been most

usually brought to an end? The 'strike' between labour and capital, if the parties are left to themselves, must always be settled on the general basis of their mutual wants. Whether it be the whole English labour that arrays itself against the whole English capital, or whether it is all Europe, or the whole world, that the two contending principles choose for battle-field, the proportion between the two will not be very materially altered, or, if altered at all, most certainly not in favour of labour. What combination among national workmen has not been abla compass, will certainly not be achieved by international association. Mr. Applegarth seems to see no difficulty as to the establishment of a good understanding between men of various nations, except what may arise from difference in language. But he does not see that there was a habel of ideas in Congress, as well as of tongues. He expressed a wish that Continental workmen would look a little more to practical results, and he admits that the English do not possess as much spirit as the Continentals; but he seems to overlook the fact that the conditions of most Continental communities, and the aspirations of most of their people, have nothing in common with the conditions and aspirations of our own countrymen, and he was, therefore, in all probability, little prepared to see the discussion turn on the expediency of abolishing all individual property, and establishing the principle of 'Collectivism' or 'Communism.*

"The leading man among our English dele-Mr. Applegarth, acknowledges peculiarly-favourable advantages himself and his fellow workmen enjoy in this country. But Mr. Applegarth might have added why English workmen enjoy so unlimited a freedom of He might have given as a reason the respect which all good men among them show for their country's laws. He alluded to the household suffrage as a conquest of the Trade Unions and the Reform League. The suffrage, he said, was their own-a great reform and sure to lead to other and greater results. The Trade Unions have not only influenced Parliament, but the workpeople as well. They have established a Labour League to secure the return of working men to Parliament to remove obnoxious laws. Such are the views and tendencies of English working men; what can they have in common with people who find fault even with the Swiss Confederation as a République Bourgeoise? . . . behoves Mr. Applegarth and his English fellow delegates, who are also dissatisfied with middleclass government, to see whether they have any community of ideas or interests with men whose aspirations go so far beyond the boundaries of all rational freedom-with men whose longings are not for liberty, but equality, based on sheer Communism-with men who aspire to domination through revolution, and whose first act aims at the abolition of property and the substitution of social for individual right."*

[•] September 16th, 1869.

Apart from fair criticism, the Congress suffered from misrepresentation. The official report states that the Congress "was attended by a numerous staff of reporters, representing journals of different countries and politics. This may be taken as evidence of the growing importance of the Association. But whether from a want of understanding, or from a forethought of malice, probably never were there circulated reports so incomplete, perverted, and false as some of the reports of the Congress. However, that is a matter between the reporters and their employers on the one hand and the purchasers of their productions on the other. As long as printed falsehoods sell at a profit they will be fabricated." Unfortunately, the circulation of misrepresentation is as flourishing-or more flourishing—a business than ever it was.

During the International Congress, The Times made a statement in reference to it which was absolutely untrue and liable to discredit the association. It arose out of another matter. On September 13th, The Times had a leading article dealing with the growth of a force for the reintroduction of Protection, and having particular reference to the way in which Mr. Bright had treated the matter in a recent speech. The burden of the complaint of The Times was that Bright underrated the strength of his opponents; that he imagined Manchester principles secure for all time; whereas those principles were being subjected to a growing volume of criticism. "The

representatives of Free Trade," said the writer, "had better look to the inculcation of its principles instead of contenting themselves with celebrating its triumph. They are but too likely before many years are over to find enough upon their hands "-which latter statement, at any rate, has been justified by events. The Times invited Mr. Bright to consider the Trade Unionists who, it said, were all Protectionists. and "if he wishes to know what the leaders of the working classes think of the matter, let him just read the programme of the International Congress at Basle. When the cotton famine began Mr. Cobden gave a lecture on the Lancashire cotton industry and explained to us, as one of the chief beauties of the system, that half the manufacturers were successful operatives who had raised themselves to that position. One of the clauses of the oath, or engagement, at Basle, bound the swearer never to rise above the workman's level. Instead of seeking access to the class above him, by honest industry, he is to pursue it to the death with unrelenting enmity. This programme, we are told, has been adopted by two well-known English delegates speaking for the principal Trade Unions of this country."

The article led George Odger to write a letter to *The Times* and combat the charge that Trade Unionists were Protectionists. It had been written that "the working class as represented in their Trade Unions are Protectionists to a man." Odger answered: "If you had said that English-

men were cowards, 'to a man,' because some few of them prefer a whole skin to the risk of fighting in a good cause; that Irishmen, 'to a man,' were assassins because dispossessed tenants sometimes shoot down their landlords; or that Scotchmen, 'to a man,' wear kilts because a few enthusiasts don that garment as a holyday decoration, you could not have been further from the fact than you were in making the charge you did against Trade Unionists.''*

Answered The Times: "Protection is protection all the world over, and most certainly loses none of its characteristics as professed by Trade Unionists. . Unionism prevents prices from finding a level and keeps them at an artificial height by excluding competition from the labour market. Its operation is to render production, in all industries, dear, by enabling workmen to get the highest possible amount of money for the labour they sell, and to give as little as possible of their labour for the price. Mr. Odger assures us, according to his own belief, that the carpenters and joiners of England want no protection from the carpenters and joiners of the Continent. Mr. Applegarth, who, as secretary of these amalgamated trades, ought to know something about the matter, claimed special credit for the International Congress as having put a stop to the system once adopted by the employers of pitting foreign workmen against native workmen."t

October 1st, 1869.
 † October 1st, 1869.

Then it was that Applegarth entered the lists, not only on the Protectionist issue, but in reply to The Times statement in regard to the "oath or engagement" of the Basle delegates,* a statement to which, in the meantime, Mr. Frederic Harrison had called his attention. The Times, however, refused to insert his letter, whereupon Applegarth sent it to The Morning Star, pointing out that he had been refused admission to The Times, and in The Morning Star the communication appeared on October 11th. He had written:

"Will you allow me, in justification to myself, to state, as precisely as I can, what I meant when I used those words: I find it so different from your inference that I am somewhat puzzled how, what so plainly meant one thing to my mind, should have produced something so very different in yours. I was referring to what had taken place, within my own knowledge, where Continental workmen had been imported into England by employers to pit against English workmen in the labour troubles of this country, a practice intended to secure the subjection of the English operatives, and which invariably led, when the fight was over, to the foreign workman's discharge, when he had either to shift for himself, as a hungry competitor in the labour market, or to quarter himself, as a hungry pauper, on the English ratepayers. What I congratulated

It may he noted that The Pall Mall Gazette correspondent at Basle wrote the following: "Each delegate is called upon to promise that he will never seek to raise himself individually above the rank of working men and thus enter the Bourgeois class, and that he will he true and taithful to "la solidarité ouvrière." (September 10th, 1869).

the International Congress on was its effect in checking the practice by the communication of such information as had rendered it impossible for the future.

"As workmen, we naturally set our faces against being pitted against each other to our material disadvantage and, for my own part. I cannot see that, in voluntarily agreeing to a course of action among ourselves, to prevent the continuance of this practice, we run counter to the dictates of commonsense or to the teachings of any sound economic doctrine. This you call 'Protection,' as the term is understood by the general public. Is it not time, Sir, that we should define our terms? Surely, there is confusion of mind somewhere. Protection, hitherto, has been regarded as the imposition of some tax or duty on the import or export of certain articles of commerce for the supposed advantage of the nation or some class or interest in the nation. Now, according to your new definition, it means also the communication of such information as may prevent English and Continental working men from being brought into ruinous competition with each other. Am I a 'Protectionist' also when I lock my door and fasten my windows at night to prevent the successors of 'Fagin, Sykes, and Co.,' from giving me a call (when I am asleep) and doing a stroke of business at my establishment at an 'alarming sacrifice' to myself? Or are workmen, generally, 'Protectionists' for seeking to get as good a price as they can for their

labour though, at the same time, repudiating as absurd the idea of asking the Government to impose a duty or frame any new law to enable them to do so.

"There is another subject on which I must trouble you. You alluded, no doubt, to me, in your issue of the 13th ult., as one of the two wellknown English delegates who bound themselves by oath or engagement never to rise above the workman's level, and to pursue to death the class above them with unrelenting enmity. It ought not to be necessary for me to deny such a monstrously absurd and, at the same time, so wicked a statement as this. It is not in any sense true-either in whole or in part. So wild a proposition was never thought of so far as I know anything of the thoughts of any of those present, and, if thought of, I am certain it was not stated in that assembly, nor anywhere else, by those, or any of those, composing it. Really. the whole thing reads so like a bad practical joke that the first time my attention was called to it I was disposed to reply by offering at once to rise to any level the generosity of a friend might dispose him to lift me to. But, really, Sir, the matter is too serious to be dealt with in a spirit of jocularity. And I request, therefore, that you will publish this, my most serious and positive denial of the truth of your extraordinary statement."

True it was that the delegates at Basle had not taken an oath as alleged by The Times,

but the dominant ideas in the association were undergoing a change. There had always been a variety of theories held in the organisation, and it says much for the way in which Marx succeeded in subordinating the theoretical programme to the idea of organisation that so many diverse elements co-operated to the great extent they did.* In 1869 the great disruptive force entered the "International." Bakunin. a Russian Anarchist, had formed an Alliance de la Democratie Socialiste, on the model of the "International," the organisation having sections, and a central committee and president of its own. It was admitted to the "International." Soon. however, it was ordered to either dissolve its central committee and merely let its sections become sections of the "International," amenable only to the regulations of that body, or to withdraw from the organisation altogether. Bakunin took the former course. The result was, of course, that he had a great many sections of the "International "under his command: sections which -according to the programme of the dissolved Alliance—rejected political action and embraced atheism. Bakunin was ambitious and aimed at capturing the "International." There was distinct spilt. Here was trouble number one. Then, there was the Franco-Prussian War. In addition, the English Trade Unionists began to drop away. The struggle for the legalisation of

An account of the Trade Union work of the "International"—mutual aid in strikes, etc.—is given in Professor Beesly's article. See note, page 85.

the Unions was at its highest. The English Trade Unionists saw that association with the "International," especially when—later—it was denounced for its supposed instigation of the Commune, would not tend to allay middle-class hostility to the Trade Union movement. Marx was bitter about the withdrawal. He described the English leaders as "out and out opportunists" and "mere practical men" who subordinated all other questions and the "International" to the safety of their funds, and who "offered up the principle of Trade Unionism on the altar of middle-class legitimisation."*

But there were other reasons for the break-up of the English section about this time, owing to the loss of prominent men on the General Council, which, as we have already seen, sat in London. John Hales was compelled to leave for personal reasons. Within a short period death carried away Facey, Eccarius, and Jung. Jung was foully murdered by a man who flew into a fit of rage during a political argument. Poor Eccarius died in dire poverty. His had been a hard life. In the 'sixties, a Labour paper, The Commonwealth, was started by a group of working men, of which Applegarth was one, and Eccarius related to Applegarth how, on one occasion, in order to finish his leading article he had had to pawn his flat iron and so procure money for the purchase of a candle. Then there was a personal factor. Engels came to live in

^{• &}quot;The International," Gustav Jaechk. p. 44.

England in 1870, and Marx—quite possibly unconsciously-took him into his counsels to the exclusion of the English, and some other members of the General Council. Applegarth remained a member as long-or longer-than any of the prominent English leaders. As a member of the General Council his signature was attached to the manifesto issued at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war; dated July 23rd, 1870. was, as indeed were all the noteworthy documents issued by the Council, the work of Marx, and it concluded: "The English working class stretch the hand of fellowship to the French and German working people. We feel deeply convinced that, whatever turn the impending horrid war may take, the alliance of the working classes of all countries will eventually kill war. The very fact that, while officials, French and German, are rushing into a fratricidal feud, the working men of France and Germany send each other messages of peace and goodwill; this great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens the vista of a brighter future. It proves that, in contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up whose international rule will be Peace, because its national ruler will be everywhere the same-Labour. The pioneer of that new society is the International Working Men's Association."

During the war, as we shall see later, Applegarth was at the front, acting as a newspaper

correspondent and, at this juncture, the following episode, related in one of his letters to The Scotsman, is interesting. He had travelled from Aixla-Chapelle to Cologne, the train stopping at every station to pick up troops until every compartment was packed to its utmost limits. Cologne, Applegarth left the train and found, outside the station, a crowd of about 1,500 soldiers destined for Metz. "I had," Applegarth wrote, "thus early sought and found a friend who was acquainted with several of the men, who within an hour were to leave friends and home-many of This was, perhaps, not them never to return. the most fitting time to press for the information I was desirous of obtaining; still, when I found men of all trades, so recently called from the workshops, I could not resist the temptation to inquire the opinions of several on the general aspect of the war, and what compensation they expected for themselves or their country for the tremendous sacrifices they were called upon to Without exception, they regarded the part make. they were taking as the discharge of an important Several, who had no direct connection with the workshops, seemed rather to enjoy the idea that they were going to 'whip the Frenchman,' but those who had been called from the anvil, the bench, and the loom, and who had left families behind them, expressed their regret that circumstances should compel the workmen of two great nations to meet as foes. One of these men, a bookbinder from Leipsic, did not hesitate to

denounce the war in the strongest terms, and to speak with the highest respect of Liebkneckt and Bebel—two working-men representatives in the North German Parliament who declined to vote for the motion granting the supplies necessary for carrying on the war.

"Our conversation by this time had attracted a crowd of listeners, and the substance of what followed was that, as Napoleon had forced war upon them, they were bound to fight; and as he had set out with the intention of taking the Rhine provinces from Germany, they intended to turn the tables on him by taking Alsace and Lorraine from France-not that they desired a conquest, but that Alsace and Lorraine might be joined to the neighbouring territory and form a neutral state between France and Germany. The bookbinder did not agree with this view. He wished to see the Imperial Government crushed, to make way for a Government which, in his opinion, would be more to the interests of the working class than all the territory that could be taken from France and would be a surer guarantee of peace for the future. The opinion received the most loud and cordial approval; but here a bugle was heard, the men mustered in line, and in bidding our bookbinding friend good-bye I whispered. 'You are a member of the International?' He said, 'Yes; are you?' I nodded; and we parted with a grip more hearty than before."

But all the working men did not think as the bookbinder of Leipsic. The war was another of the troubles fast descending on the "International."

With dissension internally, and evil influences externally, the Hague Congress, in 1872, adopted the desperate expedient of removing the head-quarters to New York. Out of touch with the working-class movements of Europe the organisation rapidly declined. There is pathos about a little gathering, of eleven men, in Philadelphia, on July 15th, 1876. There were ten Americans and one delegate who claimed to represent Germany. It was the Congress of the "International"; the ghost of the widespread organisation which had, a few years before, amazed and alarmed the governing classes throughout Europe. The final document issued stated:—

"The International Convention at Philadelphia has abolished the General Council of the International Working Men's Association and the external bond of the association is no more.

"'The International is dead!' the bourgeoisie of all countries will again exclaim, and with ridicule and joy it will point to the proceedings of this Convention as documentary proof of the defeat of the Labour movement of the world. Let us not be influenced by the cry of our enemies! We have abandoned the organisation of the 'International' for reasons arising from the present political situation in Europe, but as a compensation for it we see the principles of the organisation recognised and defended by the progressive workmen of the entire

civilised world. Let us give our fellow workers in Europe a little time to strengthen their national affairs, and they will surely soon be in a position to remove the barriers between themselves and the working men of other parts of the world.

"Comrades! you have embraced the principles of the 'International' with heart and love; you will find means to extend the circle of its adherents even without an organisation; you will win new champions who will work for the realisation of the aims of our association. The comrades in America promise you that they will faithfully guard and cherish the acquisitions of the 'International' in this country until more favourable conditions will again bring together the working men of all countries to common struggle, and the cry will resound louder than ever, 'Proletarians of all countries, Unite!'"

The "International" broke up, but it left behind it, in Europe, organisation which much helped the growth of the modern working-class movement on the Continent. It left behind it a message which has borne fruit. "The great work of the International Working Men's Association," Mr. Applegarth wrote to me, "lay in spreading a knowledge of the fact that the organised power of the workers was irresistible, and that, if the workers would devote themselves to understanding the direction in which they should use that power, and unite in using it, they would soon make short work of the injustices of which they complain."

[&]quot;Karl Marx: His Life and Work."

The fact that Labour has no country is being increasingly manifested. There is to-day the International Secretariat of Trade Union Centres with over 7.000.000 affiliated members. miners of Europe are organised internationally, and delegates were in London consulting with the British miners prior to the great strike in 1912. There is an International Transport Workers' Federation—and help came from the Continent during the last London transport strike. There is an International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations, an International Socialist Bureau, an International Co-operative Alliance, and an International Association for Labour Legislation. The tendency is all in the direction of the battlecry first heard in the Communist Manifesto of 1847—" Proletarians of all countries. Unite!"

This steady realisation of the ideal he held up to the "International," in 1869, is gloried in by Robert Applegarth—" old and respected warrior in our great International army," as Jean Longuet, grandson of Marx, described him in a recent letter *

^{*} J. Longuet to R. Applegarth, April 7th, 1918.

CHAPTER V.

1864-1877.

ON LABOUR DISPUTES.

Never surrender the right to strike; hut be careful how you use a double-edged weapon.

-ROBERT APPLEGARTH.

I want a horseshoe for my horse. Twenty smiths, or twenty thousand smiths may be ready to forge it; their number does not in one atom's weight affect the question of the equitable payment for the one who does forge it. It costs him a quarter of an hour of his life and so much skill and strength of arm to make that horseshoe for me.

—Ruskin.

It has never fallen to Mr. Applegarth's lot to take part in any strike on a very large scale, but it will be appropriate to deal, in some measure, with some of the disputes with which he was connected, less for their historical interest than for the light they throw on his character as a Trade Union leader.

It is a saying of Mr. Applegarth's that he never went to an employer with a grievance; he always went to make a bargain. And in his early days it was not so easy for Trade Union officials to bargain with employers. His first experience of advocating the men's claims before an employer was at Sheffield in 1859. He was, as secretary, deputed to wait on Mr. (later Sir) John Brown, the head of what is now the great works of John Brown and Co., Ltd., of that town.

"You're from the Trade Union?" said the great man abruptly, when Applegarth entered, and Applegarth said he was.

"Well," remarked Mr. Brown, "I shall cut you short!"

"Pray don't," was the good-humoured response, "I'm only five-foot-two, and that's short enough."

Applegarth was not cut short; and he satisfactorily settled the point at issue and made a friend into the bargain.

He was a real leader of men, and would fight for the course he believed to be wise and right without considering whether his policy would find favour with the majority. Trouble in the Midlands, in 1864, provides an illustration.

The joiners of Birmingham had not had an advance of wages for 13 years, and the joiners of Coventry not for 23 years,* so they went on strike and won an increase. That was in the early summer. The following December the Master Builders' Association gave notice of introduction of the discharge note in the Midlands, apparently as an act of revenge, for no special reason was given. The association was urged to "strictly adhere

^{*} Trade Union Commission: Minutes of Evidence, Q. 1.885.

to the discharge note, never flinching from using it, or enforcing its use," so that it might "meet the end in view."* The men resolved to resist. and Applegarth pulled all the strings he could with the object of getting the discharge note denounced in quarters other than the men's. The result was a considerable outcry in the Press, even The Times joining in the protest. The Times maintained that the employers were only copying the methods of the men, but "public opinion judges masters more vigorously than men, and with reason, too. They are bound to know better, and ought rather to set an example of superior intelligence than borrow the worst fashions of those with whom they contend." † The Daily Telegraph described the employers' action as "petty tyranny," and graciously conceded that the men "for once" were in the right.

The employers were fighting a losing battle, and they gave notice of the unconditional abandonment of their intention. The Birmingham men, however, struck in order to get a written intimation of the withdrawal from the employers to the Union.

Applegarth went down to Birmingham to get the men back so that the victory should not be marred and the good impression spoiled. He went into the meeting of the joiners with all the feeling against him, and he argued that, as a notice in the newspapers and workshops had been

^{*}Trade Union Commission: Minutes of Evidence, Q. 1,885.

[†] January 11th, 1865.

[†] January 9th, 1865.

sufficient grounds for the men to believe that the discharge note would be introduced, then, in all logic, the notices of withdrawal—similarly placed—should be sufficient to lead them to return to work. "I tell you honestly," he said, "that if I had been in Birmingham I should have been at my bench side on Monday morning last. Whenever the employers have tried to humiliate you and bring you to your knees I have been in the front to defend you; now you are trying to humiliate the employers I will be no party to it!"

Every man voted against him. As he left the meeting he met George Dawson—Unitarian parson and a great Radical reformer of his day. Dawson remarked that the men would come to see that Applegarth was right, and would bear him no ill-will. He prophesied correctly, for, six months later, those same Birmingham men presented their General Secretary with a marble clock and illuminated address. George Dawson took the chair at the meeting, and Applegarth said the praise that had been showered upon him made him feel like Mark Twain's "good boy James."

Of Dawson, Mr. Applegarth has written:

"My intercourse with him and many such men strengthened my opinion that in labour disputes, affecting as they do interests far beyond those immediately concerned, it was wise to consult others outside, and where possible secure the

[·] Birmingham Post, January 25th, 1865.

help, both on the platform and in the Press, of those able and willing to assist in the settlement of disputes, or, better still, in the formation of a sound opinion amongst the public, and of reason and forbearance amongst employers and workpeople. Much valuable work in this direction has been done by George Dawson and others of his kind, for which the public are deeply in their debt."*

The opinion of the Executive of the Carpenters and Joiners on the episode was that "the manly and straightforward advocacy by the General Secretary of that which was evidently opposed to the views of the majority proves conclusively that he is above pandering to popular applause, and is, therefore, entitled to credit for good intentions even from those who differ from him, and of the confidence of the members generally."

Persuasive and tolerant, with the ability to state a case with clearness, Applegarth was a success in the conference room. In 1867, the joiners of Cardiff had been on strike for seven weeks. A non-Union man had been assaulted, and Applegarth was instructed by his Executive to go down and investigate the case with authority to offer a reward of £20 for the discovery of the offender.

Three days before he arrived matters were at a deadlock, the outstanding point being whether the increased wages of 6½d. per hour should come

[•] Hotspur Club paper. † A.S.C.J. March Monthly Report, 1865.

into force immediately or in six months from that time. The same day the dispute was settled, Applegarth having prevailed upon both sides to split the difference and agree to the increase coming into force in three months' time. "Most of the employers," said The Builders' Trade Circular, the employers' organ, "had read Mr. Applegarth's evidence before the Royal Commission, and had heen very favourably impressed by the straightforwardness and candour of his replies, and this impression had been still more deepened by a personal interview with him. He seems to take a far more impartial view of the relative position of masters and men than any of the other leaders of Trade Union societies."*

But while Applegarth was glad to have the respect of his opponents he was not the man to be placated by soft words or influenced by patron-He printed the account of the Cardiff settlement which appeared in The Builders' Trade Circular, and in which the complimentary reference to himself appeared, in his monthly report; but he added a footnote. The Circular charged the society with having only been anxious to exculpate itself in regard to the assault and with having done nothing to try to bring the offender to justice. "It is a pity," said the Circular, "that the men do not take a higher stand. A less roundabout plan than offering a reward would have been to name the offender, who was known, because a carpenter had remarked to a

[•] Quoted in A.S.C.J. June Monthly Report, 1867,

builder that he was surprised that 'such a quiet man' should have committed the assault." In his footnote Applegarth "begged to suggest" a still less roundabout plan, which was to let the builder get the name of the offender from the carpenter who said he knew him!

Retaining his membership of the Carpenters and Joiners after he had resigned the General Secretaryship, and with his sympathy with Trade Unionism, and working-class endeavour generally, widely known, Mr. Applegarth has always had an entrée into Trade Union circles. He has frequently been asked to assist in the settlement of disputes. An important piece of work of this kind was done in 1872.

In August of that year there was a strike of power-loom weavers at the works of Messrs. Richardson and Co., Barnsley, in support of a demand for an increase of 15 per cent. in their wages. The operatives were still out in November, for they were organised in the Weavers' Association and financially supported by the weavers at the other mills. In November the whole of the power-loom linen manufacturers in the town, with the exception of one firm, gave notice of a lockout, and on November 30th the notices expired.* A great fight ensued. The operatives refused to abate their demands, and the employers made them no offer. The people suffered much privation, and, as time advanced, both sides were aware of the growing danger to the trade by the

^{• &}quot;Annals of Yorkshire," by John Mayall. Vol. 111. (Leeds, undated).

competition of Belfast. But neither side would move from its position, the leading spirit among the men being the President of the Weavers' Association, Brotton by name.

The weeks slipped by. Christmas and the New Year saw the position unchanged except for the increased suffering of the workers. arrived, and the strike was still on: but in that month the employers made a move. appealed to Mr. (now Sir) Edwin Pears to see if he could find a way out of the difficulty. Edwin was then secretary of the Industrial Section of the Social Science Association, and he in turn invited the co-operation of Mr. Applegarth. who was on the Capital and Labour Committee of the Association. Applegarth readily agreed to help, but before going to Barnsley he primed himself as to what wages, prices, and conditions of labour prevailed in Belfast. The two then travelled to Barnsley, and soon after their arrival Mr. Pears met the employers and Mr. Applegarth the workers' committee. Applegarth frankly told the men and women that the conditions of the trade would not allow of an increase of 15 per cent. in wages, but that they would allow of an increase of 5 per cent. Would the committee accept that? The committee decided to do so, and put their decision in writing.

Off went Applegarth to the employers. "Well," they said. "What have you done? What do they say?" The question was answered Scotch fashion. "What have you

decided?" the employers were asked. Applegarth was pressed as to what were the views of the operatives, but his only answer was that he had learned to be cautious and never showed his cards.

So the employers again set about discussing the matter, and agreed that they could afford a five per cent. advance. "You can?" said Applegarth, "then put it in writing." Only when this was done was the employés' decision produced. On March 22nd a public meeting of the workmen was held to endorse or reject the decision of the committee. The terms of settlement were endorsed by an overwhelming majority.*

Applegarth was also appealed to during the dispute when the London Law Courts were being built in 1877. The contractors imported provincial stonemasons who were paid at a lower rate than the London men. The London men struck. Then foreign workmen were brought in, and a bitter struggle, accompanied by some violence, began. Applegarth was willing to do what he could to get the work done at London rates, but he strongly protested to the men against their violence, and frankly told them that if he could trace any cases to any particular men he would inform the authorities. Violence, he urged, always recoiled on the heads of those who used it.

With Henry Broadhurst he waited on Benjamin

[•] The remaining 10 per cent. of the advance claimed was subsequently dealt with by arbitration. "Annals of Yorkshire." Vol. III.

Hannan, the secretary of the London Master Builders. They hastened to assure Hannan that they had not come to defend any of the violence of the men. Hannan, with equal haste, urged them not to apologise for any foolishness on the part of the men, as he knew of no people so stupid as the Executive of the Master Builders! After an eight-months' struggle—the men dribbling back to work as time advanced—the remaining strikers were compelled to surrender.

It was about the same time that about a dozen Post Office sorters came to Applegarth for help. Without a moment's inquiry or consideration, these men had been dismissed for holding a meeting inside a post office to discuss some matters connected with the conditions under which they worked. Unwittingly, they had broken the regulations. They pointed out to Applegarth that, to half of their number, dismissal meant the loss of a pension which was shortly due.

Prospects were not rosy, but it was not long before Applegarth found himself interviewing the Postmaster-General. He pointed out that the men had been trustworthy officers; that they had committed no crime; that faithful service could not be expected from others if such punishments were meted out for such offences; and that the punishment was "unreasonable and cruel."

"Oh, but they've broken the regulations!" came the peremptory response.

"And they're very sorry and won't repeat the offence," Applegarth promptly answered.

The discharged men were called in. They explained they had not been aware that what they had done was against the rules, and promised not to offend again. The result was that all twelve were reinstated, and in future the regulations were hung in the department.

It was one of the many times that Applegarth triumphed in a difficult situation. Other instances The notorious prosecution and could be cited. sentence to twelve months' imprisonment of the Beckton gas-stokers for preparing to strike, in December, 1872, is a well-known incident in the stirring history of trade combination. But the arm of the law-the very bad law-would have reached more gas-stokers than it did but for the agency of Robert Applegarth. A number of the men appeared to have vanished into thin air; but to Applegarth their whereabouts was known. Through the foreman at the Beckton gas-works Applegarth-in confidence-learned the details of the trouble, and was satisfied of the justice of the men's case. An effort to raise a fund on behalf of the prosecuted men had already begun, but prompt action was necessary. Applegarth, on his own initiative, collected sufficient money to quickly get half-a-dozen men out of the country -two to Canada, two to New Zealand, and two more to Australia. Eventually their families followed them, and, in the meantime, Robert Applegarth received what he describes as his splendid reward in the knowledge that when Sunday came round the wives and children of the departed gasstokers did not lack a Sunday dinner. All the emigrants repaid their pasage money as soon as they were able to do so, and Applegarth's last work in this connection was to redistribute it amongst the original donors.

CHAPTER VI.

1866-1871.

THE TRADE UNION COMMISSION.

I set out from the first day that I took office with the determination that I would not have anything to do with the violation of the law, and that if there were any violation of the law in connection with our society I would bettom it.

-Robert Appleaanth before the Trade Union Commission, 1867.

The fashion among a certain class of politicisms is to treat the working man as a peg on which to hang any pet theory or crotchet they may happen to have, or as a stepping stone on which to walk in the direction of their own interests. Such persons dress up a dummy in their own fashion as a tailor dresses his block figure and call it "the working man." For this model man they are prepared to legislate, talk, write goody-goody style of books for his edification, tell him what he ought and ought not to do, in fact to do everything for him except one, to treat him as a rational thinking being.

-Robert Applegarth (1867).

While working at Sheffield, during the early years of his Trade Union career, Applegarth was on the Executive of the Association of Organised Trades—the earliest of the Trades Councils.

In 1861, an attempt was made to blow up a small warehouse in Acorn Street; suspicion fell on the trade societies, and great was the chorus of denunciation. Some time afterwards, when the Executive of the Organised Trades had gathered for a meeting, the treasurer, William Broadhead, went to a cupboard under the stairs and emerged with a handful of black powder. "That's what I does 'em wi'," he exclaimed, and with a sudden movement threw the powder on the fire. With a shout of alarm the company started from their seats—but the fire was almost out; smothered by emery powder. The incident was a "blind."

Broadhead was always foremost in denouncing the evil practices with which some trade societies of Sheffield were associated; but some years later, as is well known, he confessed to having instigated the Acorn Street explosion and, as we shall see, to having acted as the moving spirit in most of the persecution of which a few of the Unions of Sheffield were ultimately proved to have been guilty.

The position of the men in the trades in which the guilty Unions were organised was exceptional. Their occupation was purely local. They were sickle and reaping-hook grinders, saw-grinders, edged-tool grinders, scythe-makers, and fork-grinders, and men in similar occupations to these. From youth to old age, the grinders worked in the same locality; the trade was their world; they had not the opportunities for broadening the mind which belonged to men in the engineering, build-

ing, and other trades, who often travelled from shop to shop. Their work was very unhealthy. They were short-lived. This in itself bred a disregard for human life, but it also intensified resentment against those who hindered the getting of high wages as a recompense for such hard and dangerous toil. Rather than have wages lowered the grinders paid very high contributions to their societies for the support of their unemployed members. Applegarth told the Trade Union Commission that their contributions sometimes amounted to three or four shillings a week, because "if they desert their Unions their wages do not go down merely to the extent that they have to subscribe to support their unemployed labour, but one-half their wages are lopped off." *

But the best evidence of how strong was the belief of these Sheffield trades in the necessity for efficient Unions is illustrated by the fact that they claimed, as a right, the power to recover arrears of subscription by legal process, and the same power to enforce their rules. Prior to the Sheffield election, in 1868, a "Committee of the Saw and Jobbing Grinders" issued an appeal to the Trade Unionists to secure the return of a candidate who would support "a Bill which will secure to Trade Unions legal powers to enforce from members the observance of proper rules and regulations." "We believe," the appeal went on, "among the most essential and just requirements is the power of the law to enforce the pay-

^{*} Minutes of Evidence. Questions 279 and 6,640.

141

ment of arrears of contributions from defaulting members and legal protection for our funds."*

Before 1824, combination was criminal, and the workman had to choose between physical violence and complete submission to the evils with which he was oppressed. The conditions we have reviewed were among those which caused such violence to survive in Sheffield until the 'sixties.

But the middle and upper classes could not, or would not, discriminate. To them, Sheffield was an example of what Trade Unionism really was. The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent and The Newcastle Daily Chronicle stood alone among the Press as journals which had a good word to say for the Unions. The growth of trade societies was the nightmare of employers; it caused the Judicial Bench to single out the Unions for attack; and it troubled the politicians at Westminster. One of the last-named who took alarm was Mr. Baillie Cochrane, the member for Honiton.

On June 17th, 1866, Cochrane gave notice that, on June 29th, he would "call the attention of the House to the dangerous increase in the organisation of Trades Unions and would move for papers."† Applegarth took up the challenge and sent the following historic letter to Mr. Gladstone; a letter which began an agitation that ended in the appointment of the Trade Union Commission:—

^{*} Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, July 11th, 1868. See also Broadhead's evidence. Page 162.

⁺ The Times, June 18th, 1866.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, General Office, 8, Northumberland Street, Strand, London, W.C. June 25th, 1866.

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. Sir.—

Seeing that Mr. B. Cochrane has given notice "that on the 29th instant he would call the attention of the House to the dangerous increase in the organisation of Trades Unions, and would move for papers" and as the Amalgamated Society of Carpentere and Joinere has "increased" very considerably of late years, I deem it my duty to inform you that this Society will regard with pleasure any enquiry that may result from the motion of the Hon. Gentleman, and will gladly furnish every information respecting the "increase of our organisation," and as far as possible will render assist ance with a view to ascertain how far the "increase" of "Trades Unions" is "dangerous" or otherwise.

To show that these are not meaningless words, I beg respectfully to add that the Council of this Society are quite willing to open for inspection (at any time and without notice) the accounts and minutes of proceedings of the Society, to any one who may come in a truth-seeking spirit, and would not have the least objection to Mr. B. Cochrane, or any other member, attending our meetings and witnessing our deliberations as often as they thought fit.

In conclusion I may add that if those who appear so dreadfully alarmed at the increase of our "Trades Unions" do not avail themselves of the opportunities offered them of arriving at the truth, they should, in common fairness cease their accusations and insinuations, which are as ungenerous as they are unfounded.

I am, your obedient servant, R. Applegarth, Gen. Sec.

Rules, reports, and other documents relating to the society were sent with the letter, which represented the first specific demand by a workingclass representative for an inquiry into Trade Unionism. The leaders had often discussed the matter, but a very natural distrust of any governmental proceedings resulted in there being no direct demand for an investigation.

Gladstone acknowledged the receipt of the letter and, not long afterwards, Applegarth was, by request from the Chancellor, interviewing Mr. Bruce, who was then Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, and whose opinion on industrial questions Gladstone valued much. Of the interview-so important in its effect on the British Labour movement-Mr. Applegarth retains a vivid recollection.

Mr. Bruce began by saying he did not know what was to be done.

"You ought," Applegarth replied, "to appoint a Royal Commission. The netice of motion is based on certain outrages at Sheffield in some of the trades where the men are few in number and working at a dangerous occupation-particularly in the grinding trades. Lives are cut short by the work in which the men are engaged, and it is natural that men who have subscribed to the Union should feel hurt at seeing others who have not done so reap advantages for which they do not pay."

Bruce asked Applegarth if he would give evidence if a Commission were appointed, and Applegarth answered that he should have no objection to being the first witness. Bruce remarked that he was hopeful of the results of such an inquiry, and Applegarth said he himself was absolutely certain that it would clear Trade Unions of the charges that had for so many years been levelled against them. Then arose the difference.

"The Commission," said Mr. Bruce, "would have to be influential and experienced."

Applegarth answered that two experienced Trade Unionists should be members of it.

It was a hold suggestion—in 1866—and Bruce would not entertain it. "They would be inquiring into themselves," he said.

- "And very properly," came the prompt answer; "they could give advice and assistance that could not be got from others. But my persuasiveness evidently will not get over your class prejudice. You would put on employers of labour, I suppose?"
 - " Yes."
 - "To condemn the class out of which they live."
 - "Capital employs labour."
 - "And labour makes capital profitable."

Applegarth went on to urge that the inquiry should be held at Sheffield, where the outrages had taken place. Bruce demurred; the witnesses could be brought from Sheffield to London.

"Then," said Applegarth, "if the inquiry is not held on the spot I refuse to give evidence in the same chair as a man who is suspected of murder."

He was fighting for what he and his colleagues saw was very necessary; an inquiry conducted in such a manner as would emphasise the exceptional character of the occurrences at Sheffield. He pressed his point. "The inquiry will have to be held in Sheffield, and you will have to promise to pardon every witness, even though he be a murderer."

Mr. Bruce was aghast! "What! pardon a murderer!"

And the answer was: "Certainly; if you do not, men will lie a foot thick in order to save their The fact must be necks—which is natural. realised that what a Commission is needed for is getting at the truth, and that will not be done by putting a rope round one or two necks."

The matter was not allowed to rest. The demand for an inquiry increased in volume. The dose the Government found hardest to swallow was the granting of a bill of indemnity to all witnesses, and twice Applegarth saw Gladstone on this matter. A few months later the attention of the whole nation was again focussed on the Trade Unions by the explosion of a can of gunpowder in the house of a non-Unionist, in New Hereford Street, Sheffield. This occurred on October 8th, 1866, and the outcry against the Unions was renewed and redoubled. The following day Applegarth, anxious that the Unions' case should be brought to the notice of their bitterest enemies, wrote to Thomas Hughes, asking him to write a letter to The Spectator, defending the trade organisations. The request was really one for the redemption of a promise. At a great meeting of working men, held under the auspices of the Social Science Association, when that organisation was holding its annual Congress in Sheffield, in 1865, Hughes denounced the Trade Union outrages and assumed that the Trade Union movement was indifferent to them.

"Let them say," he told his audience, "these outrages are things of the past; in the future you shall hear no more of them; we will fight henceforward in an honourable, straightforward, and Christian manner."*

The accusations raised great surprise and resentment, but working men were refused an opportunity to reply to them. Next day, however, a deputation from the Association of Organised Trades waited on Hughes. Documents were handed him by William Dronfield, the secretary of the Association, and others were handed to Hughes, on his return to London, by Applegarth, who was authorised by the Sheffield Association to act for it in the matter. Hughes formed conclusions on the evidence and promised to state them publicly whenever called upon to do so. The time came with the New Hereford Street outrage, and Hughes gladly redeemed his pledge:

"My conclusions," he wrote to The Spectator, "were: First that the leaders of the trades of Sheffield, so far from having countenanced these atrocious crimes, have, for many years, done their best to bring the perpetrators of them to justice, and to rouse healthy abhorrence of such doings; secondly, that they have been to a great

^{*} The Times, October 7th, 1865.

extent successful, there having been no outrage in the town since 1861; * third, that, after the last. that at Acorn Street, at their instance, a joint committee of employers and employed was formed to investigate the case, which committee only fell into disuse by the neglect of the masters to attend; fourth, that the evidence as to the Acorn Street outrage pointed to the conclusion that it was not the work of a Trade Unionist; lastly. that the leaders were anxious for an inquiry and would rejoice to see a Royal Commission. or any other impartial tribunal, undertaking a searching investigation of the whole question." †

Applegarth also denounced the outrages, and objected to their being identified with Trade Union methods, in his most forcible style:

"By all means let there be a Commission of Inquiry, and if a searching investigation leads to the discovery of an ulcer in our system, however small it may be, let the knife go to the very core. But in the absence of proof of the complicity of Unions in the dastardly deeds we protest against the responsibility being thrust upon us, especially by those who profit by the sensations they thus create.

"Whoever imagines that the Trade Unions are the cause of, or responsible for, the disputes and heartburnings of which we frequently hear are as ignorant of the objects of our Unions as they are of their operations. Whoever imagines that

[•] By this, of course, is meant no serious outrage which endangered † Quoted in A.S.C.J. Report, November, 1866.

the trade disputes and deeds of violence that have long since disgraced the name of Sheffield in the eyes of the country are the results of a 'system of oppression towards non-society men by Unions'; of the 'oppressive restrictions of the Unions on their own members'; or a 'desire on the part of the Unions to dictate to the employers,' have yet something to learn.*

"The causes of these things are a thousandfold and are 'all parts of one stupendous whole.'
Lack of education, immorality in all its hideous
forms, grievances, real and imaginary, and all
the causes which impel or lead bad men to the
commission of crime, are the causes which lead
to these deeds, which none regret more than the
members of Trade Unions, and far from being
responsible for, or conniving at them, our
Unions exercise a healthy influence over individuals who otherwise might be wickedly
disposed and are the means of preventing or removing grievances which might often lead to
serious results.

"To those disposed to saddle the responsibility of the Sheffield disputes upon the 'Unions,' we would suggest that they lend their influence to the removal of some of those disgraceful abuses over which the Trade Unions cannot possibly have any control. If this be accomplished, a general reform will speedily follow. We allude to the system adopted by many employers of 'fastening' or bribing men to work for them, by

[·] He was quoting from The Sheffield Daily Telegraph.

advancing such a sum as they well know the men have little prospect of repaying, and to put a stop to that still more disgraceful proceeding of booking their men's work at 'statement' price and deducting 50 per cent., which, in other words, means the employer falsifying the men's workbooks to enable the men to rob each other, and the unprincipled employer getting his work done at half the price paid by firms who deal honestly with

"In this direction a Commission might, with profit, direct its attention; but, be that as it may, an inquiry, which might have been made in 1862 (and the leaders of the Unions did all they could to bring it about), must be made now, and we are perfectly satisfied to abide by the result."*

their men and who have to sell in the same

market.

The Unions did not stop at words. The Association of Organised Trades offered £100 reward for the discovery of the perpetrator, or perpetrators, of the Hereford Street explosion, and to this sum the Carpenters and Joiners offered to contribute £25. Moreover, the latter society urged, by resolution of the Executive, that a free pardon should be granted to any accomplice who gave evidence which would lead to a conviction. The London Trades Council sent a deputation to Sheffield to investigate the charge; the Sheffield Town Council sent representatives to the Home Secretary (Mr. Walpole) to plead for an inquiry into the cause of the explosion; and the London

^{*} A.S.C.J. Monthly Report. November, 1866.

trades, after being refused permission to accompany the Sheffield deputation, did likewise. Mr. Walpole also received a deputation of Sheffield employers. The Government could not resist the pressure, and on February 5th, 1867, the Queen's speech announced that a Royal Commission would be appointed to inquire into the whole question of trade organisations.* Mr. Applegarth says he never worked so hard in his life as during the eight months between the writing of his letter to Gladstone and the announcement that the Commission was to be appointed. He never allowed the demand for an inquiry to cease.

In spite of the nature of the Commission's investigation not one working man was appointed as a Commissioner. The London Trades Council applied to have two working men upon it, but the request was refused. On February 9th, Mr. Walpole said he "ought to inform the House that a petition had been presented to them from the working men of London urging that some of their fellow working men should be put on this Commission or, if not, that one or two persons might be placed on it in whom they might have confidence. My answer to them was that I had

The Commission was "to inquire and report on the organisation and rules of Trade Unions and other associations, whether of workmen or employers, and to inquire into and report upon the effects produced by such Trade Unions upon workmen and employers respectively, and on the relation hetween workmen and employers, and on the trades and industries of the country, regard heing had to any recent acts of violence alleged to have been produced, encouraged, or connived at by such associations in Sheffield, with power to suggest any improvement in the law with respect to the matters aforessid, or with respect to the relation of workmen with employers." (Mr. Walpole in the Commons. The Times, February 10th, 1867.)

151

endeavoured to avoid having a Commission with anything of a partisan spirit about it, and that it would sit rather in a judicial than any other capacity." And members said, "Hear, hear." The spirit behind Mr. Walpole's announcement is very manifest even to-day. The "independent" chairmen in matters relating to industrial disputes are never, by any chance, drawn from the working class.

The petition of the working men, however, succeeded so far as to get Mr. Frederic Harrison and Mr. Thomas Hughes on the Commission, and they also succeeded in obtaining permission for a representative to attend the sittings. The Junta appointed Applegarth as the workmen's representative. The Junta was also pleased that the authorities had decided to do as Applegarth suggested to Mr. Bruce: inquire into the Sheffield outrages at Sheffield and grant a bill of indemnity to all witnesses.

Sir William Earle was Chairman of the Commission, and other members were: the Earl of Lichfield, Lord Elcho, M.P., Sir Daniel Gooch, M.P., Sir Edmund Walker Head, Mr. Herman Merivale, C.B., Mr. James Booth, C.B., Mr. John Arthur Roebuck, M.P., Mr. Thomas Hughes, M.P., Mr. Frederic Harrison, and Mr. William Matthews. Special examiners were appointed for the Sheffield inquiry, which sat for 25 days,* and also for an investigation of some

[•] June 3rd to July 8th, 1867.

outrages at Manchester by members of a brick-makers' organisation.

The first meeting of the Commission was held on March 18th, 1867, and Applegarth was called as the first witness. He was again examined on July 9th, July 23rd, and August 1st, and in all answered 633 questions.

Like many of the witnesses, Applegarth was subjected to the severest cross-examination by Roebuck. An early adherent to the Chartist movement, a friend of Mill and disciple of Bentham, Roebuck had drifted from being one of the hopes of the democracy till, in the 'sixties, he was found defending slavery in America, Austrian rule in Italy, and violently in opposition to trade combinations at home. The Unions had no more virulent opponent than John Arthur Roebuck. As we have seen, Applegarth publicly attacked him, more than once, for his prejudice during the sittings of the Commission.

But Applegarth on Trade Unionism was a very hard nut. There is a good instance where he was being examined as to the extent to which the Unions restricted the liberties of their members. Applegarth pointed out how, by a code of working rules, which the joiners of Hull were seeking to get their employers to adopt, men were to be forbidden to take work from their employers' customers to do in their own time at less than the Union rates. The aim of this from a Trade Union point of view is obvious, but the rule was also an advantage to the employers, and Apple-

garth took care to point this out. The following are some questions Roebuck put to the witness on this point, and Applegarth's answers:

"Is that not interfering between the man and the employers?—No, I think it is protecting the employer.

"I am looking at it as it affects the public. Supposing that I found a clever artisan in my house and said to him: 'Now, I see you are a clever workman, I should like you to come and work for me,' why should you interfere?—We do not attempt to interfere in that way; but if you had a man working in this house and he was working for an employer and you knew that by offering that man your job to do he would do it at less price, we do not think it fair that the man should be allowed to undermine his employer's interest in that way.

"If an employer asks me £2 a week, and the man does the work for £1 15s., why should you interfere to prevent me from employing the man?—We have a strong notion that there are so many evils connected with that way of acting that we had better say that we do not allow the men to interfere with the employer's interest. The man's business is to work at the bench side, and the master's business to take work from the public.

"So that you do really interfere with a man's judgment of his own interest; you say, 'We, the trade, interfere and tell you that you shall not be governed by your own judgment'?—In matters

like that we believe it on the whole to be very injurious for the man to act that way.

- "What do you mean by injurious'?—We believe that when a man has done a fair day's work he has done sufficient.
- "Do you not suppose that he is a better judge of that question than you?—No, we do not. We believe that men are thoroughly selfish who act in that way.
- "How should you like me to interfere with you as you interfere with those men?—If you were a member of my society, and you, in conjunction with a majority, decided that I must conform to certain regulations, I should be bound to do so; but if we are all to be left to do as we like the sooner we dissolve our society the better.
- "Is not that bringing the opinion of the majority in all cases to govern mankind?—Undoubtedly; and I see no reason against it.
- "Then you think that the minority should have no voice?—Undoubtedly, let them have a voice, and if they have right on their side let them agitate till they convince the majority they are right.
- "But who is to decide whether they have right on their side?—The same remark may be applied to the question of the suffrage about which, I suppose, we shall have to go on agitating till we get what we want.
- "Here is, we will say, an individual who has a peculiar power, who is, in fact, a genius; you interfere with him and say, 'Your genius shall not help you, we will bring you down to the

mediocrity of the society? '—That is a mistake. I would ask whether it adds to a man's genius to overtax his own strength.

"Is he not the best judge of that question?—

No, I think not.

"So you would have the society a nursing mother to genius?—I would have a man do a fair day's work for a fair day's wage.

"And that is the rule you lay down in your society, is it?—Yes; and as far as we are able we carry it out." *

Thus, the examination about the restriction of the workmen's liberty proceeded, and the Trade Unionist position was eventually driven home by two questions from Mr. Harrison.

"Then the restriction upon your freedom of labour which your society imposes amounts to this, that the members of the society will voluntarily consent to work under certain conditions so long as they receive certain benefits?—Certainly.

"And if they choose to work under different conditions they must forego those benefits and leave the society?—Yes.";

Here was summed up the whole case against Trade Union "tyranny." But, even to-day, public utterances and writings in the Press indicate that many people have not grasped this very elementary position.

While all his evidence carried great weight, Applegarth probably made the greatest effect upon the Commission when dealing with the actuarial soundness of the Unions generally and his own society in particular. The evidence of the various witnesses had failed to show any criminal tendencies in trade organisations, so the attack was turned in another direction, and it was sought to prove that they were not financially sound; that the workman was paying for mythical benefits.

A leading witness against the Unions, on the financial aspect of the question, was Mr. Robert Tucker, of the Pelican Insurance Company. He was examined with reference to the Amalgamated Engineers and the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, and gave it as his opinion that the contributions of the members of those societies were insufficient to meet the benefits which were offered. The actuary also held that, by paying trade benefits and friendly benefits out of a common fund, there was no guarantee that the money would not be absorbed by strikes to an extent which made the payment of other benefits impossible.

After this evidence, Applegarth was recalled, in order to give a reply. He pointed out that men did not join the society, some for trade purposes and some for benevolent purposes, but joined it for the benefits as a whole. He bluntly expressed his belief that "all the actuaries in the kingdom" could never calculate what a strike would cost.*

^{*} Minutes of Evidence, Q. 6.588.

But the main lines of his defence were these: that experience had shown that the benefits could be paid and—an all-important point which the actuaries had overlooked—that the rules of the societies allowed of special levies being made if funds fell to a point which imperilled the benefits.

"We had," he said, "the advantage of the experience of the Engineers' Society, a society which was formed by amalgamsting a lot of local societies containing very many old members. They started, from their very formation, to pay all the benefits which we pay, including superannuation, and had been in existence something like ten years when we started, and we naturally thought that if, having started with a few thousand members, and a very few thousand pounds, they had got up to something like £80,000 or £90,000, there was something more than speculation about that; we believed that a shilling would purchase just as much for a carpenter and joiner as it would for an engineer, and that we take to be the result of experience, and we have, right or wrong, attached more importance to the experience of the past than we have to actuarial calculations."*

In connection with the same subject we find an illustration of the outspokenness with which all Applegarth's testimony was marked, and the impression he made on the Commission may be judged from the fact that when, in his absence, a

witness reflected on his veracity, Sir William Earle promptly retorted: "I do not suppose that any one man who has sat at this table and heard Mr. Applegarth can doubt, for one moment, a single word he has stated."* He was pressed as to whether his society would be able to bear the permanent charge of supersnnustion which would be put upon it as time advanced; whether there were not a good deal of speculation so far as the superannuation fund was concerned; and whether extraordinary demands upon the society might not render it insolvent? Again, his defence was, of course, that the experience of the Engineers had shown that superannuation could be paid, and that special levies could always be put on to swell the funds. Lord Elcho ssked: "Are you aware of a case which somewhat illustrates the position you have taken up that recently arose out of the Barnsley accident? The case, as I have heard it, was this: that a benefit society of miners there held out certain prospective benefits to those who subscribed; amongst others, payment to widows so much a week, and to children in proportion. The accident taking away at once the lives of 300 men and upwards. caused such a strain on the funds that the funds were unable to meet the demand, and they could not fulfil on the ordinary subscription the promises which they held out; they therefore determined to make extraordinary levies on their

^{*} A.S.C.J., July Monthly Report, 1868, quoting Minutes of Evidence.

own members, and they have appealed to the other trade societies throughout the kingdom.—
I am aware of that.

"Perhaps your society has been appealed to?

—It has been appealed to and contributed cheerfully, too.

"So that, in such cases, members of such societies are not only liable to meet the demands of their own societies, but possibly may have extra levies to meet the liabilities of other societies?-Yes, they fully understand that, and there is nothing they do more cheerfully than they do that. But I desire just to say that I believe that when the miners entered into their calculations. as to what accident benefits they could pay for certain sums of money, they acted under the supposition that the inspectors of the mines would do their duty, and it is very clear to me, from what I have read and know of the matter. that the miners have had to suffer from the gross neglect of the mining inspectors, who are paid out of the pockets of the taxpayers."*

At the conclusion of Applegarth's evidence, on that day, Mr. Tucker was recalled, and was asked by the chairman if he wished to alter the statement he had made. The actuary answered: "No, except that so far as there are means by extra contributions of making good any deficiency, that must remove any objections I have made to the insufficiency of the payments." Thus was

the bottom knocked out of the employers' case so far as it concerned the financial soundness of the workmen's organisations.

The alleged secrecy as to the operations of the Unions and the purposes for which their funds were used was another subject on which Applegarth was closely questioned. He was asked whether, if an annual return were made to a Government official, he would favour showing a detailed account of the expenditure. "I would," he replied, "send in the whole of the detailed report and give him the privilege, and give him the right if he likes, to come and examine the account books himself personally." The Earl of Lichfield remarked: "I am very glad to hear you say so."

The same subject led to the consideration of picketing. Applegarth said it was justified, and the cost of pickets should appear under a separate head in any return that was made. "I say," he told the Commissioners, "that it is perfectly justifiable for men to approach other men to wait at the shop door and say to those who come, 'The men were dissatisfied with the terms upon which they were working at that place, and, if you go in, you will go in and undersell us; now we beg that you will not do that.' That is as far as I would justify men in going; if they use threats and coerce and intimidate, that is beyond the instructions which the laws of the societies give them; and no one more than myself would wish to bring them under the laws of the country for doing so. If they did not do what I have justified it would be folly to strike in many instances."

"Do you consider it Lord Elcho asked: legitimate picketing for men to assemble at the door of a shop where there are non-Unionists, and when they come out howl at them? I do not ask whether it is legal, but whether you, as a very prominent Unionist, consider that what I have just described is legitimate picketing?" Applegarth replied: "No; speaking generally, I should think that howling would mean something offensive in itself; but it is hardly for me to determine what is legal and what is not, because I read the other day that the winking of a man's eye was sufficient to lead to his arrest." *

Evidence such as this, piled up by Applegarth and many others, † fast removed much of the prejudice against the Unions; but on the other side of the scale was thrown the great weight of the revelations at Sheffield. On June 20th the whole country was startled by the confessions of Broadhead, who had been, for twenty years, secretary of the Sawgrinders' Society, of Sheffield.

(Minutes of Evidence.)
To mark their appreciation of his evidence the members of the Manchester branches of the Carpenters and Joiners made a handsome bookcase, and this, with 200 volumes, selected by Professor Beesly and Lloyd Jones, was presented to Applegarth at Manchester, Professor Beesly travelling down specially to preside over the gathering.

^{*} Minutes of Evidence, Q. 6,736 and 6,746. See also page 69.
† Still more might have been brought but for the fear of victimisation. Applegath told the Commissioners that "one of the greatest difficulties the men's side of the question will be placed in at this hoard will be 'hat we dare not produce the men who can give the most useful information. If we were to get a clerk of works or foreman (who frequently know both sides of a dispute far better than masters or men) to come here and speak the truth their position is gone for ever, so far as the masters are concerned—they would be black-balled by the employers."—(Minutes of Evidence.)

To mark their appreciation of his evidence the members of the

details can serve no purpose here; it is sufficient to say that Broadhead had been the leading spirit in all the bad practices of Sheffield. He confessed to having employed men to perpetrate the Acorn and Hereford Street outrage, to shoot at a non-Unionist who employed six apprentices and to "ratten" in hundreds of cases.* In his evidence he said he did not wish to extenuate his conduct. "I felt," he told the examiners, "the necessity of doing something or the Union would be destroyed, as there was no legal defence for the Union. I looked upon the thing as absolutely necessary. Linley (the man who was shot) had s wheelt full of apprentices, and there were apprentices he had brought out of the scissors trade with him."

"And was your only reason for shooting at this poor man," asked the Chief Examiner, "the fact that he had six apprentices?" Broadhead answered, "Yes; I knew if he was allowed to go on others would do the same and the trade would be ruined. . . . All the rattening with which I have been concerned has been done for the benefit of the trade, never from private malice. Individuals have done it from private motives. I wish to God the whole system were swept away and legal power given instead. It is because we had no legal power that we rattened." ‡

^{• &}quot;Rattening"—the hiding of tools—was usually resurted to first; then wheel hands would be cut. and, if men still proved recalcitrant, they might suffer from explosions of gunpowder placed in their wheel races.

[†] Wheel-meaning a shop. ! The Times, June 21st, 1867.

There is no need to dwell on the sensation created by the evidence of Broadhead and his accomplices. A few days afterwards the Sheffield examiners issued their report. Tt. showed that of the 60 trade societies in Sheffield only 12 had been concerned in the outrages. Nevertheless, the Press swooped down on the trade organisations of Sheffield, and although, as a matter of fact, the Examiners' report was a vindication of the Sheffield Trade Unionists, as a body, the Unions were denounced without dis-The Times described the "Sheffield crimination. Unionist" as "an animal with one instinct, and this he gratifies with perfect relentlessness."*

The Sheffield examiners were only instructed to inquire into the outrages, not into the organisation and objects of trade societies generally, and witnesses like William Dronfield, the secretary of the Association of Organised Trades-a close friend of Applegarth's—who wished to bear testimony as to the methods and objects of Trade Unionism, as distinct from small trade clubs such as were responsible for the outrages. were told that such evidence could be given before the London Commission. Applegarth, between the months of August and November, urged upon the Commissioners to hear evidence as to the conduct of Sheffield Unions which had not been connected with the outrages, and, at length, on November 14th, he was asked to bring three working-men witnesses from Sheffield, and

[•] July 21st, 1867.

Roebuck was requested to bring three to give evidence on behalf of the employers. Applegarth promptly made arrangements for the evidence of the Sheffield workmen and told the Commissioners they could hear it at any time. November, however, the Commission adjourned until March, when he again pressed the secretary of the Commission to see that the evidence of the Sheffield workmen was called. All through April and May he urged that the evidence should be brought forward and was always presented with an excuse for delay. On June 11th he heard that the Commission was about to close its inquiries. Indignant at the injustice under which the Sheffield Trade Unionists were suffering, he wrote to the secretary of the Commission, stating that the request for the evidence to be called was but a "a simple act of justice to many thousands of operatives in Sheffield with whom I have worked, lived, and associated, and who, I am sure, as a whole, do not deserve the bitter and severe reproaches that are now being hurled at them for the crimes of a few." The answer to this came a month or six weeks later. when Applegarth was informed that the Commission intended to go no further in the matter.*

The Minority Report of the Commission was signed by Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. Frederic Harrison and the Earl of Lichfield, and Mr. Merivale and Lord Elcho dissented from some of

See Speech at Bheffield. (Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, October 23rd, 1868).

the severer restrictions proposed by that of the Majority. Applegarth approved of the former document, describing it as showing "a thorough knowledge of the wants of Trade Unionists, and of the commonsense way of meeting those wants. with due regard to the interests of employers and employed."* The Majority Report, however, called forth his severe criticism. He resented, as he had always resented, Trade Unionists being regarded as a class apart; a class whose double dose of original sin called for special legislation. He spurned the professed anxiety of the Majority lest those who paid into the Unions might not get the benefits; and he defended the Unions from the restrictions the Majority sought to enforce.

The Majority urged that no Trade Union should have its rules registered unless it had no rules to limit the number of apprentices, to prevent in any way the use of machinery, to prevent men working piece-work, or to prevent the working of society men with non-society men. "It is," wrote Applegarth, "a matter of some surprise to find that these gentlemen have not learned, from the evidence they have heard, that all such matters as these ought to be left for settlement to those directly concerned. Such matters should be left to the good sense of masters and workmen"; and he went on to urge that it was not for an Act of Parliament to deal with such matters; that the whole course of

legislation since 1824 had been to leave masters and workmen to fight their own battles, and that it was not likely that the Parliamentary attitude would change just then to "lend capital a helping hand in its contests with labour, or even to seriously entertain the proposal that it should do so."*

It was further proposed by the Majority, as a condition of registration, that a society should not assist another society, or other societies, in a trade dispute. Applegarth's comment was: "If this be the price Trade Unions have to pay for protection, then they will prefer to go unprotected till Doomsday. Trade Unionists will never surrender the right to give away or spend any portion of their own funds for any purpose whatever. Not even for legal recognition will they attempt to smother one of the highest motives by which men can be actuated—that of desiring to assist others less fortunate than themselves."*

On the subject of finance, he wrote: "Our financial soundness is a matter which concerns ourselves. . . . Let it not be forgotten that, though the country was scoured for the purpose, yet no instance could be found of a Trade Union having failed to pay all the benefits it engaged to pay. It will, therefore, be ample time for Parliament to concern itself about us in this respect when we ask for special legislation.

"If, however, by any misfortune, Parliament

A.S.C.J. Ninth Annual Report.

should agree with the Majority that there should be one law for the rich and another for the poor. that Trade Unionists should be legislated for as a 'dangerous class' instead of as citizens of a free country, and should enact a law with irritating and vexatious provisions which would inevitably set class against class in a spirit of the most determined hostility, then it is clear that those of our numbers whose labours for years have been directed towards elevating the tone and policy of Trade Unions would have no inducement to continue our efforts in that direction; but, of necessity, would be driven, for the time being, to exclusively devote our energies and ability to devising means whereby a onesided and most unjust law could be erased from the Statute Book, and, in the meanwhile, technically evaded."*

The Bill which Mr. Harrison drafted, with the Minority Report as a basis, was supported by all the Trade Union leaders, and Applegarth, as secretary of the Junta, organised the great meeting in Exeter Hall where the workmen gave their approval to the measure. The Junta was also responsible for a deputation to Mr. Bruce, with the object of obtaining Government support for the measure. There were almost 100 trade delegates on his deputation, which was introduced by Hughes, who had charge of the Bill in the House, and besides the working men, friends of the Trade Union cause were present

[·] A.S.C.J. Ninth Annual Report.

in the persons of A. J. Mundella, Professor Fawcett, Samuel Morley, Sir Charles Dilke, Lord E. Fitzmaurice, and Sir Henry Hoare. Applegarth was one of the half-dozen speakers. "The honourable gentleman," he said, "was told the other day by a deputation of employers that the Bill was that of the Trade Unions; but I deny Were it so it would have been stronger and would have gone much further. It is a Bill drawn and promoted by two gentlemen, connected with the late Royal Commission, as one just and equitable to employers and workmen, and, as such, it has been accepted by the Unions. We are told that this is not the time to introduce the Bill, but neither now nor in the future will satisfy those who raise that objection. The Unions are sick of the delay; they do not want soft words, but substantial justice in protecting their funds and the right of combination, and if now denied that justice, will use the power of their organisation and their political influence to obtain it."*

Mr. Bruce, in his reply, dilated on "the great interests involved in this question," and expressed the opinion that the matter was one that the Government should take up rather than leave to a private member. He asked the deputation to wait for Government action in the following session.

The result was that the Bill was dropped. The Government, however, did not keep its promise and bring in a Bill the following year. It was

Bee-Hive, July 3rd, 1869.

not till 1871 that the Government measure was produced. In his notes in the last annual report he signed, Applegarth attacked the notorious third clause which substituted a dangerous penal law for the old law against combination; a clause subsequently taken out of the Bill and embodied in a Criminal Law Amendment Act. Except for the third clause, Applegarth described the Bill as "an honest attempt to deal with a most difficult subject "; "but that particular clause." wrote, "attempts to reconstruct a new 'Combination Law' far more objectionable than the old one it replaces." "Under the old law," he stated, "cases of conspiracy could only be tried by the superior judges, but under the third clause of the Government Bill the power of trying cases of conspiracy is conferred on the unpaid magistracy.

"We have heard enough in the past of 'justices' justice,' but if such a misfortune were to happen as the third clause of the Bill to become law, I venture to predict the workmen of this country, whose interest is in law and order, and whose loyalty to the laws, as a class, none can gainsay, would never submit to complicated questions, such as have perplexed judges in the past, being adjudicated on by country parsons and town tallow-chandlers.

"It is to be hoped that the 'people's representatives' will have the good sense to see that it is no more necessary to incorporate in a Trades Union Bill a clause simed at offences which the vast majority of Unions have been proved to be innocent of than it is to incorporate in a Railway Bill a clause providing for the punishment of directors for fraud; but that in the one case as well as in the other the punishment ought to be directed against the offence and not against the offender, and the provisions necessary for the carrying out of the punishment embodied in the Criminal Law, so that every offender, be he Trade Unionist or Railway Director, would be equal in the eye of the law and would not be singled out for special legislation. But if, as it is stated, the third clause of the Bill would, on becoming law. apply to the entire population, then so much the stronger is the reason why such a provision is out of place in a Bill which, in every other respect, is expressly designed for Trade Unions."*

The Bill passed into law. The Unions were legalised; their funds were protected, they were secured the means of registration and the right to hold land and other property. A big battle remained to be fought over the iniquitous Criminal Law Amendment Act and other laws especially designed to keep the wage-earner down. Others fought and won that battle, and so made more complete the work of which Robert Applegarth did so much to lay the foundations.

[•] A.S.C.J Eleventh Annual Report.



ROBERT APPLEGARTH (About 1870).

CHAPTER VII.

1866-1875.

AGITATION-PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.

To those who think that workmen are led by the nose by their leaders, and that the life of the agitator is all "beer and akittles" I would say, that if ever it falls to your lot to try your hand at leading and to test the quality of the "beer and skittles" you will find that this is one of the many ignorant fallacies that befog the public mind in connection with the Labour question.

-ROBERT APPLEGARTH (1898).

In the 'sixties Robert Applegarth pleaded the Trade Union cause all over the kingdom. From Scarborough to Cardiff, from Maidstone to Dublin and Belfast, he lectured on "Trade Unions from a Workman's Point of View." He often spoke at great length, leaving no aspect of the question untouched, and always making telling use of his facts. Always he talked of Trade Unionism as it affected the working class; he was out to preach the common cause of all who lived by wage-labour.

As an example; at the Stuart Hall, Cardiff, in November, 1868, he gladly admitted that his own trade was among the most prosperous. But there were others. The miners were a hard-worked and under-paid class of men in spite of the danger they faced day by day. Under the Mines Inspection Act twelve mining inspectors had been appointed; but in 1861 the mines numbered 3,256; in the Yorkshire district there were 434 mines under one inspector; a mine took at least eight hours to inspect, and many would take two days to inspect thoroughly. The result was that some mines had to be left uninspected; indeed the Yorkshire inspector reported to the House of Commons in 1861 that he had inspected 120 mines during the year and had had to leave 270 mines uninspected.

In 1865, the coal raised was valued at £24,537,648. "Surely," declared Applegarth, "men engaged in such an industry deserve consideration?" But what were the facts? During the previous eleven years the average number of lives lost per year was 1,146, or rather more than five a day. "I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that a vast proportion of this sacrifice of human life is due to insufficient inspection," he said, and if neither employers nor the legislature would protect men's lives, then who could blame the men for combining to protect themselves?

But other trades had no Unions whatever. There were poor needle-women who received 13d. for making a shirt, miserably poor slop tailors, the agricultural labourers, London 'bus-

men, who worked 115 hours a week for 22s., and clerks who were expected to keep up a respectable appearance on a weekly wage of from 10s. to 20s. The previous winter 10,000 clerks in London were out of work and receiving parish relief. There were also the railwaymen and Post Office employés "in many cases wretchedly paid."

Applegarth passed on to education, his favourite subject. For the benefit of the British workman "the bogey of foreign competition" was held up. It was true that foreign artisans had, in recent years, made great progress. "But the cause of this." he said, "is to be found in the schoolhouse and not in the workshop. I complain of the niggardliness of the English Government in the matter of education. In 1866, the English Government apent about £600,000 on education, while, for the same purpose, the French Government paid £2,164,000, and the number of children at achool in England during that year was 1,724,000, while in France it was 4.515.917. In the same year the State of Pennsylvania alone spent £1,200,000 on education, or double the sum spent by the English Government. Looking at these figures, can we wonder at the ignorance of the English workman? We want a National, compulsory, and a secular system of education, and Trade Unions will endeavour to procure it."*

In August, 1869, Applegarth lectured on the

[·] Cambrian Daily Leader, Navember 12th, 1868.

same subject to a packed meeting in the Mechanics' Institute, Dublin. The Lord Mayor took the chair. Applegarth pointed out that according to the statistics of Dr. Hall, physician to the Infirmary of Sheffield, the fork-grinders were deprived of 25 years of their existence—the average duration of their lives being 28 years. Prior to the establishment of a trade society they were underpaid, too, by from 30 to 50 per cent., wages having increased within the previous two years, since the Union had been organised in their midst, from 10s. and 12s. per week to 30s. and 36s. Sheffield might be termed a stronghold of Unionism; and it was interesting to note that, while trade associations flourished and labour became more and more remunerative, the prosperity of the town increased, the population multiplied, large and handsome buildings were erected, and the rateable value of property had risen from £272,161 in 1848, to £565,237 in 1857.

At this meeting, Applegarth, who, at the time, was Chairman of the International Working Men's Association, emphasised the oneness of interests of the workers of all lands, and held up the ideal of a world-wide fraternity of labour. It was then that a voice cried from the audience, "And what about Home Rule?" The response was prompt and to the point: "I would fix Ireland with the responsibility of keeping her own house in order, and she would do it with credit to herself and added strength to the Empire."

Mr. Applegarth once related this incident to a group of Nationalist members at the National Liberal Club, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who was of the party, recalled the fact that, as a young-ster, he was present and had reported Applegarth's speech. Thus may Mr. Applegarth say with Mr. Chamberlain, "I was a Home Ruler before Mr. Gladstone."

Applegarth's first visit to Ireland was in 1866, when, as we have seen, he opened the first branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners. The function took place in the Foresters' Arms, Marlborough Street, on June 28th, and, according to *The Irish Times*, formed the topic of discussion in almost every yard and workshop in the city. So great was the interest that a further meeting was held four days later, and by that time 100 members had joined the society.

It was at the first of these meetings that someone present stated that John Bright had placed
a notice outside his factory stating that "no
Irish need apply." Before going to Ireland
Applegarth had heard of allegations in reference
to the notice, so he inquired at Bright's works
and of Bright personally as to whether the stories
were true, and he found that they were not.
He learned that the truth was that a notice had
been placed on the gates: "No hands wanted,"
and this had been altered by a mischief-maker to
the warning to Irishmen to keep away. Armed
with the facts, Applegarth, when the question

was raised in the Dublin meeting—in his own words—" nailed the lie to the counter."

It was never the way of Robert Applegarth to talk loosely; it was to make sure of his ground before he expressed an opinion. He went down to Scarborough in January, 1868, for the purpose of presenting the £100 permanent disablement benefit to a member who had met with an accident. The meeting was held in the Town Hall, with the Mayor in the chair, and Applegarth, according to The Scarborough Mercury, spoke for nearly three hours. In the course of his address, he was severe on "free" labour, which flourished in the town, and he spoke of certain buildings in the course of erection by such labour, on the South Cliff, as a disgrace to the borough. Not unnaturally, this aroused the ire of the contractor, who wrote indignantly to the local Press and stated that the buildings were in accordance with the building regulations and were good work. Unluckily for the contractor, Applegarth was sadly vindicated, for a few days later a storm blew off a block of chimneys, which crashed through the roof and four storeys. killing one workman and injuring four others.*

There was no class of workmen to which he was more ready to give assistance than the miners. In the summer of 1869 the miners in the Sheffield district struck for the removal of long-standing grievances. They asked the employers to meet in conference. The employers

^{*}A.S.C.J. Report, February, 1868; also Scarborough Mercury, January 18th and 25th, and February 1st, 1868.

rejected the offer. Applegarth had worked persistently for the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, and, hearing of the attitude of the employers, he went down to Yorkshire at the invitation of John Normansell, the secretary of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, to address the men. Deeplý convinced of the value of conciliation, and with intimate knowledge of the miners' grievances, he did not spare the employers.

The employers had treated the miners' suggestion of arbitration with contempt. One employer expressed the opinion that arbitration would "tend to increase disputes, besides being useless in dealing with them." Applegarth said he felt sorry for him, and added, sarcastically, that if an "ignorant, low-bred miner" had said the same thing he should have told him that it was a pity he had not been sent to school in his early days, and mixed more with the world as he grew older. "An employer to tell me that arbitration increases disputes! Let such employers," he declared, "go to Nottingham and see there whether the effect of arbitration is to increase disputes. What difference is there between miners and textile workers that the former cannot sit down and discuss and adjust the differences between them, as is done under the auspices of Mr. Mundella?"

But it was for the reply of another employer that Applegarth reserved his strongest denunciation; a reply which ran: "I have seen a great deal of valuable time spent in discussing questions, and I would prefer the Law Courts to the course of arbitration." "Cruel and selfish," was Robert Applegarth's description of such an attitude. He would ask any reasonable man whether he would not "talk almost till Doomsday before recognising it." "It is all very well," he said, "for this employer to talk about his preference for the ordinary Law Courts, but who makes the laws and administers them? Do any of the men help to make them, or are they made by the employing class, who take particular care to suit their own interests, and not those of the men?"

He regretted the tone of the replies. Labour was down, but the time of the men would come. "There will be a time when the industries of the country will lift up their heads, when working men will have a chance; and I trust they will not be so unreasonable as the masters are now."

So he went on. He would have been glad to have been able to advise the men to meet the employers half-way. But peaceful overtures had been refused, therefore—"All the advice I can give you is, stand together to the bitter end!"*

During the strike a few men had been sent to prison for interfering with strike-breakers imported by the Free Labour Society. Applegarth deprecated the violence. The laws were one-sided, but should be obeyed till the men could bring pressure to bear sufficiently strong to repeal them.* "There is nothing to be gained

^{*} Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, July 8th, 1869.

by violation of the law," he told the men, "ao it is clearly to your interest to maintain order."*

When Joseph Arch was organising the agricultural labourers Applegarth was often in the rural districts preaching Trade Unionism to the men of the soil. On one occasion, he addressed a meeting of labourers in Norfolk. His audience, for the most part, earned 13s. a week. The promoters of the meeting had invited the vicar of the parish to take the chair, and he had accepted the invitation. "And they thought," says Mr. Applegarth to-day, "that they had done a great thing."

Applegarth, having spoken on the benefits of combination, the vicar rose to move a vote of thanks. He was sure all were grateful to Mr. Applegarth for coming; he was sure they would all profit by his address; and he was sure they would all be glad to see him again. "But," said the vicar, "I noticed that Mr. Applegarth omitted one thing. He did not give you any advice about putting by for a rainy day. Now I know you, you know; I live among you; and there are some of you who sometimes go to the publichouse."

The extent to which this was the view of English Trade Unionists may be gathered from an incident at the Congress of the "International" at Lansanne, in 1867. Continental delegate proposed a vote of censure on English judges, on account of recent decisions which denied the funds of Trade Unions the protection of the Friendly Societies' Acts, "but the Englishmen opposed this, saying that the law was unjust, and that they would do their best to get it changed, but that, as long as it remained law they must respect the judges that applied it."—The Trades Unions of England.

The vote was seconded and carried, and Applegarth got up to respond. He thanked the meeting for its compliment; but he did not atop there. His voice rising with indignation, he said: "You have been told that you go to the public-house, and that I have not advised you to put by something for a rainy day. Men! if I were a labourer struggling to make ends meet on thirteen shillings a week, and I thought that, by going to the publichouse, I could purchase forgetfulness of my misery, then by God, I'd go and I'd spend the lot!"

The labourers were too astonished to applaud or dissent, but the reverend gentleman hurriedly left the chair. Then the meeting cheered to the echo, and set to business passing resolutions on land reform. For the parson, however, it must be said that, even in taking the chair, he was in advance of many of his brethren. It is recorded that, during a lock-out of labourers at Chipping Norton, two justices, both clergymen, sentenced sixteen labourers' wives, some with infants at the breast, to imprisonment with hard labour, for "intimidating" non-Unionists.*

While the vicar was making his remarks on accumulating capital on 13s. a week, Applegarth's mind had turned to the petty prizes which, in some districts, were annually offered to labourers who had managed to drag out a long life and bring up a family without resort to the Poor Law. Applegarth printed an amusing account of such

[&]quot; History of Trade Unionism, Chap. VI.

a function in one of his Monthly Reports. The account was embodied in a letter which had been written to *The Scientific Review*, and it is interesting as illustrating the atmosphere of village life, and showing into what stony ground the seeds of Trade Unionism had to be cast. The facetious writer said:—

"The Docking Union Agricultural Association is one of many such, and it held its thirteenth annual meeting this year at Burnham* to distribute its rewards to deserving servants for excellence of work, long service, and those other practical virtues suited to men and women in the lowly condition of the competitors, and, profitable, no doubt, to those in whose concerns they were employed. The gathering commenced by samples of ploughing and hedging, and some other small matters suited to the season of the year, after which an adjournment took place to the National Schoolroom for the purpose of distributing the prizes. The gentry mustered strongly, and their faces must have beamed with delight, stirred, as they must have been, by hearts full of kindly sympathy and noble generosity.

"William Galley got the first prize, the largest given, for looking after 500 ewes and losing few lambs. The fortunate man got 30s., and no doubt the investment was a good one. William Parker got 10s. for thirty years' service as a shepherd. He was exceptionally handy at Burnham for he had obtained another prize, probably of the same

[•] Near Norwich.

amount, fifteen years previously. This, it will be observed, is at the rate of 4d. a year.

"For length of service prizes there were several competitors, and it is right to say that forty years spent together by master and man is a credit to both. But then the reward is something wonderful. Frederick Pentney carried it away; no less a sum than 10s., or 3d. a year. Is it worth dividing? Three halfpence for six months; three farthings a quarter. . . . The most interesting, and, perhaps, the most puzzling part of the affair was that poor men were rewarded for bringing up the largest number of children without ever having received relief from the parish. John Johnson, the happy father of seven under twelve years, who had never applied to the workhouse, got 15s. Self-denying John! Grateful nobility and gentry! Less fortunate were several who had brought up six children under the same self-denying circumstances, 10s. each being their reward. Worse still, William Bone and William Osborn, who had only five each, and had to put up with three half-crowns apiece. How these last two must have envied John Johnson who, having only two more children, actually got double as much as they did!

"I forbear going through the whole list that I may have space to inform your readers how the victors in this competition got something to eat; and how Major Holloway made them a speech commending what they had done, and feeling it his duty to add, 'that they must not consider that

they had reached a point at which their work could not be better '-a hint, perhaps, to John Johnson, to redouble his efforts and come up next time with a more abundant increase. To those who might be so unreasonable as to say that the prizes were trumpery, the gallant Major replied by asking, 'What were the principal prizes of Greece and Rome? There was no money reward at all, only a wreath of ivy or laurel which the conqueror wore to distinguish him from his fellows.' A happy touch, this, as it at once, and most distinctly, showed how solid the advantages of the modern Briton are over those of the ancient Greeks and Romans. I know not whether there is any Norfolk Pindar to sing the praises of these men and give them that immortality that great prowess and greater virtues deserve. It is satisfactory to know, however, that, having got three half-crowns in their pockets instead of worthless laurel leaves on their heads, they gave three cheers for the 'gentlemen,' sang 'God save the Queen ' and the ' Doxology,' and quietly retired to await a repetition of the treat at the end of another year.

"When they had gone a very splendid dinner was served up for the gentlemen, at which the Earl of Leicester praised large farms; the Rev. A. Napier condemned national education; Mr. England declared we are all 'over-educated,' and a great deal more was said which would sound very strange in the ears of those, who, in our big

towns, are talking so confidently about putting the world right.

"What I want to know is whether you have any cure for this state of things. These Norfolk labourers don't care for education. An occasional prize and an annual 'tuck-out' will at any time send them off singing, when fugled by the clergyman,

Praise God from whom all blessings flow

whilst the gentry would regard as the worst enemy of his country any schoolmaster who attempted to make a little sunshine in the shady places of the poor peasants' minds.''*

Once, in his chequered career, Robert Applegarth was sent to gaol. It was in the early 'seventies. Knowing him to be a never-failing source of help in trouble, a party of London mat-makers explained to him how they were handicapped in making a livelihood. The products of their labour had to compete with mats made in Her Majesty's prisons. What was the remedy? Applegarth sent his visitors away with the advice to form a Trade Union, and, the advice having been taken, he lent assistance in the drawing up and registering of the rules. Then, doubly eager to help those who had helped themselves, he paid a visit to Treloar's, on Ludgate Hill, bought a mat made by honest labour, and purchased elsewhere a precisely similar mat made by prison labour. Armed for an

A.S.C.J. Report, November, 1869.

object lesson, he was soon interviewing the Home Secretary, Mr. Bruce. He pointed out how the turning of prison-made mate into the open market tended to turn honest mat-makers into the prisons and workhouses. The result was that the Home Secretary asked him to go down to Wakefield gaol and investigate the whole matter.

So Applegarth went to gaol for the first and last time, and interviewed the Governor. Governor, at first, was not communicative; the public did not understand such things; many people outside were in error about the matter. What did the inquirer want to know?

Applegarth was incisive: "Everything."

"Where would you like to start?" he was asked.

"At the beginning."

Bit by bit the story came out. An official of the prison was kept at Liverpool and it was his business to buy material for the mats. much of the material never went to the prison; instead it was sold on the Liverpool Exchange, and the profit carried to the Prison Labour account!

Applegarth bluntly told the Governor that it would not be carried there much longer. Nor was it. It was not long before the mat-makers were relieved of the competition of the prison, and that was a beginning of similar relief to other classes of workers. Applegarth presented the prison-made mat to Mr. Bruce, who sent it to his home in Wales.

This was only one of many missions on which Mr. Applegarth has been sent by those who know his gift for conciliation and the handling of delicate situations. Another arose out of Plimsoll's famous denunciation of the shipowners in the House of Commons. It was in 1875 when, the Government having introduced a Merchant Shipping Bill to meet the opinion created by the Plimsoll Committee, announced that the Bill would be dropped for the seasion. This announcement was made by Disraeli on July 22nd. Plimsoll immediately jumped to his feet and begged to move the adjournment of the House. "Sir," he cried excitedly, "I entreat the Right Honourable gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government not to consign thousands of living human beings to an undeserved and miserable death. Sir, I believe, and I have not hesitated to say—and I told the President of the Board of Trade himself at an early period of the session-I do not for a moment charge him with anything like a breach of faith or treachery—that the Bill-of which the first thirty clauses are merely re-enactments with unimportant exceptions—was so drawn as to afford unlimited facilities for death-dealing volubility and hypocritical amendments. I adhere to that opinion. Under the Board of Trade, since 1862, when, unhappily, the commercial marine of this country was committed to their care, matters have been getting worse and worse, with the aid of ship owners of murderous tendencies outside the

House, and who are immediately and amply represented inside the House, and who have frustrated and talked to death every effort to remedy this state of things."

Proceeding with his protest, Plimsoll stated that the Secretary at Lloyd's had told a friend of his that not a single ship had been voluntarily broken up, on account of being worn out, in the course of thirty years. "Continually, every month." shouted the member for Derby. "hundreds and hundreds of brave men are sent to death: their wives are made widows and their children are made orphans in order that a few speculative scoundrels, in whose hearts there is neither the fear of God nor the love of God, may make unhallowed gains. There are shipowners in this country of ours who have never either built a ship or bought a new one, but who are simply what are known as 'ship knackers,' and I accidentally overheard a member of this House described in the lobby by an ex-Secretary of the Treasury, as a 'ship-knacker.'"

With rising indignation, "the Seamen's Friend" gave notice that he would ask the President of the Board of Trade whether three ships, lost in 1874, with 87 lives, and two more, which were abandoned in the early part of 1875, were not registered as being owned by Edward Bates, the member for Plymouth? "And, Sir," he went on, "I shall ask questions about members on this side of the House. I am determined to

unmask the villains who send these men to death and destruction."*

Great was the uproar that ensued, and when the Speaker "presumed" that Plimsoll did not apply the word "villains" to any members of the House, Plimsoll retorted that it was members of the House to whom he referred and that he should not withdraw the expression. Disraeli then moved that the Speaker "do reprimand the member for Derby"; and Plimsoll indignantly left the House.

During this outburst. Plimsoll shook his fist at Charles M. Norwood, the Liberal member for Hull, and a shipowner, and made accusations with sufficient directness to render himself liable to prosecution for criminal libel. Norwood instituted such proceedings, and Mundella was subpænaed on his behalf. For Mundella, the situation was most distressing, for he was on the side of Plimsoll and the seamen, yet knew his evidence must be such as would largely contribute to Plimsoll's conviction. He went to Applegarth, who, he insisted, should go down to Hull and prevail upon Norwood to stop the proceedings. Applegarth knew Norwood and had helped him during his election campaigns, and Mundella waived aside his protestation of his unfitness for the mission. So Applegarth travelled down to Hull and, at the Cross Keys Hotel, was ushered into Norwood's room. Getting to the point at once, Applegarth announced

[•] Hansard, S. S., Vol. 285.

his mission: there would have to be no proceedings against Plimsoll. The storm broke. "Never before," says Mr. Applegarth, "had I known what it was to meet a really angry man. He was furious! He almost anapped me up at every word I spoke; but I bided my time."

Applegarth told Norwood that the proceedings would have to be withdrawn, as the imprisonment of Plimsoll would be a smashing blow to the Liberal party. "You will be attacked," he urged, "on platforms all over the country, for the man has simply fought against a glaring evil. Set down his accusations to the bigness of his heart."

But Norwood was unmoved. Then Applegarth played his trump card. "The trial of Plimsoll," he said, "would bring out facts which would lower you in the estimation of your countrymen."

Norwood was startled, and asked for an explanation. So Applegarth told how, after speaking at one of Plimsoll's meetings in Hull, some men from a ship-building yard had come to him to give him some facts as to the value placed by shipowners on the lives of seamen. They had told him how one of Norwood's ships had been lengthened 80 feet. The ship was old, and in the scraping of the plates one plate was scraped through. The men who had done the scraping—and who told the story—called the attention of the foreman to the condition of the hull. The answer of the foreman was: "Plate the damned thing with a tarbrush!" So the men "plated" it with a tar-

brush and the ship went to sea—and to the bottom with every soul on board.

"I know," Applegarth said to Norwood, "that you personally were not responsible; but such things should be made impossible. If you proceed against Plimsoll I shall have to give evidence for him and those facts will come out."

Norwood gave way. Reluctantly he wrote out a note to his solicitors instructing them that the proceedings were to go no further, and Applegarth at once went off to the lawyers. He showed them the note, but refused to leave it; he needed it as evidence that his mission had been successful; and he returned to London and gave it to the delighted Mundella, who, later on, handed it to Gladstone.

This case was the most serious with which Plimsoll was concerned, but legal proceedings were spoken of in other quarters. The Plimsoll Committee, however, succeeded in preventing any legal action being taken, and Plimsoll tendered a mild form of apology. Practically speaking, the shipowners had to take their denunciation lying down, and the moral effect of that was very great.

On Plimsoll's great work it is a melancholy reflection, that, in 1906, the shipping interest was still strong enough, and vicious enough, to lift the Plimsoll line and swell its profits at the expense of seamen's lives.

CHAPTER VIII.

1867-1869.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION: THE CARPENTERS'
CLASSES.

I don't think it safe for us as a nation to be the most ignorant Protestant people on the face of the earth. This is a period of the world's history when the very security, the trade and the progress of a nation, depend, not so much on the contest of arms, as on the rivalry in science and the arts, which must spring from education. . . . Did any reflecting man walk through the Great Exhibition without feeling that we were apt to be a little under a delusion as to the quality of men in other parts of the world? . . . Did it not make Englishmen feel that they had to look about them? And how will you be able to rally, how will you attain to further improvement in arts and manufactures but by improving the education of your people? I don't think we can wait.

-RICHARD COBDEN.

THE words at the head of this chapter were spoken by Cobden in 1851. When, twenty years later, the State began educating its people, even then it offered no direct instruction "to further improvement in arts and manufactures."

Robert Applegarth was always for improving the workman: for rendering him more efficient

at his craft, of greater intellectual attainments, and more conscientious. "To leave the imprint of honest industry on your hench every Saturday night" was, to him, the best starting point of a A better workman demand for more wages. would be keener on getting, and would be more likely to get, a better wage. Moreover, he looked at the matter from a national point of view, and was convinced that England was losing ground owing to the increased skill of the foreigner, for whose technical and literary education State provision was made. "Why," we find him writing, in 1868, "should not the English workman be placed on a footing of equality with the foreign workman in the industrial race? Why should we be weighted with an absolute ignorance of the science of our trade, while our foreign co-workers, with whom we have to compete, and successfully compete, possess every advantage that a good elementary education and industrial scientific training can give them?"*

He held that it was as much the duty of the State to provide industrial training as to provide elementary education. It was a result of his eagerness to demonstrate that the working class would be as glad to have industrial training as instruction in the elementary schools that he so readily seized the opportunity to induce the Carpenters' and Joiners' Society to institute a system of technical instruction.

A.S.C.J. Ninth Annual Report.

The plan was suggested by Fleeming Jenkin. Professor of Civil Engineering at University College, London. He wrote to Applegarth on December 19th, 1867, that "the evidence which you gave before the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the organisation and rules of Trade Unions leads me to believe that you would willingly consider any proposal made in the interests of the Union of which you are secretary ": and he went on to evolve his plan for technical instruction. Unfolding his scheme, the Professor pointed out that while the Englishman was "generally superior" to the foreigner in manual skill, he was "generally inferior" in technical education. "In mensuration, in drawing, or the understanding of a complicated drawing, and in knowledge of elementary geometry and mechanics," the Englishman was "seldom proficient." Professor Jenkin went on to point out how little had been done by occasional lectures at Mechanics' Institutes, and he despaired of seeing any improvement unless the men themselves took the matter in hand. He suggested that, where the members of a branch were sufficiently numerous, a small levy should be made for the purpose of technical education; that members and their sons should be admitted free to the classes, and other young men for a reasonable fee. Meeting the objection that might be raised as to cost, the Professor pointed out that, in most large towns, there were a number of poorly-paid draughtsmen who possessed just the

information the workmen required, and who would be glad to add, by teaching, ten or twenty pounds a year to their income. Two shillings per member in a branch of 200 members would produce £20 a year. Rooms could be obtained, free of expense, from employers or clergymen and at Mechanics' Institutes Each branch could choose its own subject and teacher, and members could use or neglect the class as they pleased. The scheme was a purely voluntary one. The only action Professor Jenkin thought the Government could legitimately take was the granting of certificates as to fitness to undertake tuition. and the establishment of a system of inspection to test the efficiency of the teaching. He said he should be glad to hear of Applegarth's personal approval of the plan, and, if he approved it, asked him to place it before his Executive.*

The Executive, at their next meeting, promised to give the matter "the serious consideration its importance merits," and Applegarth, in forwarding the resolution to the Professor, wrote: "For my own part, I may add that no proposal could be made in the interest of the working class to which I could give such hearty support and concurrence as I could to a proposal for education, and technical education I know too well to be one of the greatest wants of the artisan class of this country; and that the machinery of the Trade Unions may be adapted to supply that want (and that without in the slightest degree impairing their usefulness for trade purposes), I

^{*} A.S.C.J. January Monthly Report, 1868.

have long been convinced. He suggested that the society might be able to assist in establishing a school as soon as a sufficient number were ready to form one; "but in this matter, as in all others, the start is the greatest difficulty."

Subsequently, Applegarth and the Professor talked over the matter, the Professor had an interview with the Executive, and, in February, 1868, the Executive pledged itself to facilitate the formation of classes in the branches. committee was appointed to enrol names, and the Executive was prepared to lend assistance where a class had organised itself and was prepared to pay a quarterly subscription in advance. If a class thought it would have a better chance of success with a loan, the Executive was prepared to consider an application for financial assistance from the contingent fund. Arrangements were made for the supply of tools at a cheap rate, and the members were to make their own squares and drawing boards.

"This is probably the first instance," wrote Applegarth, "in the industrial history of the country, of a Trade Union undertaking to provide a plan for the education of its members. If successful, and we have full confidence that it will be, it will furnish a practical answer to the question, 'Do the working class want education?' and we hope it will do something towards securing what the working class have so long desired, namely, a national, compulsory, and unsectarian system of education."

The movement thus begun prospered much. The form it took depended on what educational facilities were already provided in a town or district. In some places the branch of the Union hired a room at a Mechanics' Institute or workingmen's club, and appointed a workman as instructor; at other places they elected a teacher whom some friendly educationist would recommend; in London, teachers were often engaged from the Science and Art Department at South Kensington. In the autumn of 1869 no fewer than 116 London members of the Carpenters' and Joiners' Society passed the examination of the Science and Art Department in geometrical and machine drawing and building construction.

Jenkin was mistaken when he thought belp would be forthcoming from employers. In Bradford and Manchester employers encouraged the movement, but elsewhere they gave little or no help. Like the workmen, they were sometimes blind to their own interests. The Manchester branch of the General Builders' Association subscribed to the funds of the classes in Manchester and Salford, and several large employers promised to send their apprentices to the classes. At Bradford, the workmen and employers engaged admirable premises for the exclusive use of the classes, and these were managed by a committee composed of equal numbers of each.

"I feel more proud of this than any other work I have had to engage in," was what Apple-

garth said of the movement.* Certainly it was an admirable example of self-help. It helped to show that there was a demand for what Applegarth held it was the duty of the State to give. But he was aiming at more than that. He was seeking to show the worthiness of his own class; its desire for improvement; and its capacity for taking advantage of opportunities for improvement. He sought to raise the workers in their own estimation and in the estimation of others.

Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, September 27th, 1869.
 Quoted in A.S.C.J. October Monthly Report, 1869.

"JHAPTER IX.

1868-1871.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION LEAGUE.

Free education is no new thing in England, and has not worked so badiv in the case of the upper and the middle classes that we should hesitate to extend it to those who are now excluded from its advantages.*

I should be the last to deny or depreciate the enormous sacrifices which have been made by many of the clergy to establish and maintain schools; but I say that, on their own confession, their motive has been, not the education of the people, but the maintenance of the doctrines of the Church of England; and the consequence has been that secular education has been subordinate to this object, and we remain, at this time, one of the worst educated nations in Europe.

—Joseph Chamberlain, at Birmingham, October 13th, 1869.

In the lobby of the House of Commons, during the session of 1868, Robert Applegarth was met by George Dixon, the member for Birmingham. Dixon told Applegarth that he had six names of people who were prepared to support a movement

^{* &}quot;A Brief Statement of the Objects and Means of the National Education League." (Birmingham, undated.)

for forming a new organisation. This organisation was to have as its object the creation of a public opinion in favour of a national system of education which would be too strong for the Government to resist. Would Applegarth be willing to help? Those who have followed this record, thus far, will be ready to learn that the seventh name on Dixon's list was Robert Applegarth.

In education, England had lagged behind other nations, and though matters had improved since the days when Bell and Lancaster began their work, the leaving of popular education to denominational effort had been a lamentable failure.

In 1868, of 14,877 parishes in England and Wales, only 7,406 had schools aided by Privy Council grants; that is, inspected schools. Four years previously, of 126,038 inmates of prisons more than 95 per cent. could neither read nor write, except in very crude fashion. The Education Aid Society of Manchester and Salford found, in 1865, that out of a total of 104,000 children, only 55,000 were on the books of day-schools, and, for the same year, the London Diocesan Board of Education reported that, in the district which it covered-which was only a portion of the Metropolis-from 150,000 to 200,000 children were receiving no education. In 1869, the Birmingham Education Aid Society discovered that of 45,056 children between the ages of 3 and 15 years, 26,194 could neither read nor write, and 21.696 were neither at school nor at work.

Of 908 young persons, between the ages of 14 and 21 years, only 41 could pass an examination in the fourth standard of the Revised Code.*

Applegarth, in his speech at the first General Meeting of the League, quoted from the Report of the Select Committee (1866) and showed that 11,000 parishes, embracing a population of over six million souls, received no direct assistance from the State for the provision of education; that out of 750,000 children of the workingclasses between the ages of 10 and 12 years, only 250,000 were at school; and that, in spite of legal powers to educate the children of outdoor paupers, the Guardians in nine counties had educated 11 out of 38,451, at an annual cost of £2 4s. 8d. !! Summed up, the condition of things was as follows, in 1869: about 1,300,000 children were being educated in State-sided schools; 1,000,000 in schools which received no grant, were not inspected, and were altogether inefficient; and 2,000,000 children who should have been at school received no education at all.

The minds of thoughtful men were turned particularly to such a state of things after the extension of the franchise in 1867, and the growing stress of foreign competition was a powerful factor in turning the minds of the employing class

[&]quot; A Srief Statement."

t" By an Act of 1855.

[†] Report of the First General Meeting of Members of the National Education League.

^{§&}quot;Life of Gladstone," by John Morley (Edition, 1908), Voi. 1, p. 701. Quoting Sir Henry Craik's "The State in its Relation to Education."

to the subject of popular education. Dixon and his aupporters formed a Provisional Committee of a National Education League, and thousands of circulars inviting co-operation were sent out. By the time of the first General Meeting of the League, on October 12th and 13th, 1869, so great had been the response that twenty branch committees had had to be set up before the League was formally constituted. The members of Parliament who gave adhesion to the principles of the League numbered forty. No appeal for funds was made before the General Meeting, but, by that time, upwards of £14,000 had been raised, in the aggregate, by twenty members of the League, sixteen of whom Were Birmingham.

The aim of the League was to secure education for every child in England and Wales. It proposed to carry out this object by compelling local authorities to see that school accommodation was provided for every child in their district, the cost to be met out of local rates, supplemented by Government grants. All schools aided by local rates were to be unsectarian and subject to Government inspection, and admission to them was to be free. Where State school accommodation was provided children not otherwise receiving education were to be compelled to attend.

Such was the remedy of the League for surmounting the obstacles in the path of popular

[•] First Report of Provisional Committee.

education which, to the promoters, were: want of local responsibility for local insufficiency of education, the denominational spirit, the poverty and apathy of parents, and the lack of legal enactment insisting that the machinery provided should be used to its proper end.* The members of the League were not unanimous on all points of the programme. Some-among whom were Mundella and Professor Fawcett-did not think it wise for the League to aim at establishing free schools, and Applegarth and Holyoake were among those who preferred secular education to unsectarian education. These minor differences. however, were sunk in the battle for the main object: a national system of compulsory education free from denominational influence.

The promoters of the League acknowledged the services of the supporters of the voluntary system, but desired a acheme under which education would not be "dependent upon the accidents of wealth and benevolence, but should render its application uniform and certain throughout the land."† Free schools were necessary because "the proposal to make a general charge for admission and to exempt, by special vote, those who will put in the plea of poverty, is really to pauperise and degrade the very class who most require to be elevated and to create invidious and baleful distinctions which will be destructive of anything like a dignified national character."†

[•] Leaflet, "The National Educational League." (Undated.)

The poverty which occasioned the need for free schools would be relieved. these educationists maintained, by the schools' very existence, for withdrawal of children from industry would raise the wages of the parents, and education, by creating better workmen, would better enable employers to meet foreign competition which was "threatening the very existence of some of our staple manufactures."*

On the question of compulsion the message of the League was: "We are charged with creating a new crime.' We do not create the crime. has always existed. We but give it its name and assign to it its proper place. It is the recognition by law of a great evil; and it is the function of the law to recognise and make provision against evil."t

Here is the attitude on the religious question: "It is time that the war of creeds should cease to interfere with the material interest of the people; therefore the League declares that no catechism, creed, or theological tenet shall form part of the teaching paid for out of the taxation of the country. But the school committee may permit the reading of the Bible, without note or comment, and grant the use of class rooms for religious instruction out of school hours, on condition that one sect is not more favoured than another. . . . Theological differencea must no

[&]quot;The National Education League."

t " A Brief Statement."

longer be permitted to hinder the education of the nation."*

The League held that the establishing of schools for different denominations did not meet the religious difficulty, nor did the conscience clause. "The first is an obvious waste of money and power, and would compel each ratepayer of a district to contribute to the support of other people's religious opinions, whether he approved of them or not; the second involves an invidious distinction to which no member of a free state ought to be exposed.";

Such were the aims and ideas of the men who gathered in Exchange Assembly Rooms, Birmingham, on October 12th and 13th, 1869, and so constituted the first General Meeting of the National Education League. It was a great company, containing many distinguished men. Applegarth was among the direct representatives of the working class. He was appointed a delegate by his Trade Union, in the Reports of which he had advocated the cause of the League. Others who represented the working men were George Odger, George Howell, and Daniel Guile. George Dixon took the chair, and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain the vice-chair, and Mr. Jesse Collings, as Honorary Secretary, presented the Report of the Provisional Committee. Secretary was Francis Adams, of Birmingham. A distinguished figure at the meeting was Dr.

^{• &}quot; A Brief Statement."

^{† &}quot;The National Education League."

W. B. Hodgson, of London, who, in 1847, with five or six others, initiated the Manchester National Association for Secular Rate-paid Education. There was a great budget of good wishes from people unable to attend, communications from Huxley and Charles Kingsley being among them, and the latter writing of the voluntary system, "that it is a failure in country parishes I know from twenty-seven years' experience as a parson."*

The gathering was remarkable for the way in which it formed a common platform for men who, in matters other than the educational issue, held widely different views. Thus, we find the adoption of the Treasurer's report was moved by Archdeacon Sandford, of Redditch, and seconded by George Dawson. The Churchman said:-

"I am quite satisfied that very many severe things will be said of your platform. We shall be told, no doubt, that it is a godless scheme; that it is a revolutionary scheme; that it is a scheme utterly unsuited to the taste and the feeling of the British people; that it cannot succeed; that if it is carried out it will flood the land with a number of atheists and infidels, who will be the curse of society; that we are departing from the course of duty; yes, and that we deserve very severe vituperation ourselves because we have the effrontery to propose this scheme to the public. All I can say is this, that after a man, at my time

[•] Report of Proceedings, from which succeeding information relating to the gathering is taken.

of life, has been pronounced sacrilegious and an atheist because he has presumed to utter an opinion not upon a religious, but upon a political question, he becomes rather callous, and is prepared to his duty, and, if needs must be, to stand alone, whatever may be said of him by ignorant and interested parties. . . . I believe that the proposal of the League, which, at whatever risk, I am prepared to endorse, shows me to be a much more sound and conscientious Churchman than he is who professes the other scheme, which, in my belief, could only tend to perpetuate and to intensify those divisions among Christians which are, and which have been so long, the bane and the scandal of Christendom."

The Unitarian followed, and said:-

"Why should the Church educate the world in matters about which the world is entirely capable of looking after itself? Religious people have quite enough to do without this. What an advantage it will be to you Churchmen, if we take all this business, and leave your purse and your time free! And, instead of our system being contrary to the interests of religion, it is the best system for forwarding it. I have been connected with Sunday schools all my life. We get a child for an hour and a half every Sunday morning professedly to teach it religion. The child does not know the alphabet. The hour and half is spent in the painful attempt to teach it what the world ought to have done. The schools must be purely secular. Disguise it as you may, to

that complexion you must come at last. If we attempt to make school rates to support denominational schools, we shall have, in fact, our old friend, the church-rates back again, and some John Giles of Bungay will go to prison rather than pay, and members of the Society of Friends will allow their umbrellas to be seized. . . . If gentlemen present can show you that Moses did not write the whole of the Pentateuch, am I to be compelled to pay for telling children that he did? Is it not time that children should not build up what it will be their first duty when they are older to pull down? Have not some of us gone through that bitter and painful process of taking our father's creed slowly down? And do we not know what it costs? Is it pleasant for a man to have to forsake the creed of his youth? Is the process so agreeable that it is right to subject the children of this country to it? Why am I to pay for teaching a child—as it is stated in a catechism which I shall not name—that for His good pleasure and greater glory God elected certain people to reprobation? I am willing to pay for teaching the things about which we are agreed. When they go out of school you shepherds can catch them and take them to the fold. Teach them what you think proper, but do not ask me to pay for that part. Short of what I have stated I shall not be satisfied, but I shall travel with you on the same road as far as you will go with me; and I hope you will make allowance for me if I go farther than you do.

Compulsory, national, secular education—that is my faith."

It fell to Professor Fawcett, the member for Brighton, to move that a Bill embodying the principles of the League should be drawn up, for introduction into Parliament. He said:—

. . . . We only contemplate that the educational rate shall be imposed in those districts in which the Government inspector reports that the educational appliances are not adequate for the education of all the children in the locality. Now, the next point is this: is it better that these schools should be supported by rates, or from the national exchequer? If events should show that rate-supported schools are better, then, of course, the existing schools would gradually cease. But it is quite possible to conceive that the power to levy an educational rate may give a great stimulus to the existing schools, for it is quite possible that many clergymen and ministers of religion, who now find it difficult or almost impossible to support their schools, in consequence of the shabbiness and stinginess of the landed proprietors, may be able to induce them to come forward if they can use this practical argument, that, unless they subscribe, rates will be levied upon them and their tenants. Therefore, it is quite possible in some cases that compulsory rating, instead of touching the present system, may give it a greater stimulus and render it far more efficient. . .

"I fear the principle of free education may

weaken that sentiment of responsibility which parents should feel towards their children. think we should lay down the doctrine that it is as much the duty of the parent to provide his child with education as it is to provide him with food and clothing. I know it may be said, in reply to my objections, that in certain extreme cases you support the child upon the rates—that you will not let children starve, but as a last resource you maintain them upon the rates. Yes: but if the parent refuses to support his child when he has the means to do so, you say that he shall punished—he commits a criminal act. Similarly, I should hold that rather than let a child's mind be starved, as a last resource he should be provided with a free education; but I should like to see the principle never sacrificed, that if a parent who has the means to give his child education refuses to do so, he, too, shall be regarded as being guilty of a criminal act. I know it may be said every parent will contribute indirectly through the rates. There is no doubt some force in that argument; but it would be equally just to say it was the duty of the State to feed and clothe children, and not the duty of parents, because the money devoted to the purpose would be taken from the taxes, and therefore parents would in the aggregate contribute. But this, after all, is only a detail of the great measure we have in view; and I am perfectly willing to sacrifice my own individual views. ''

Professor Thorold Rogers, who seconded the motion, took the opposite view to Professor Fawcett, and pointed to the United States, where, he said, parents were eager for the education of their children, and made sacrifices for it, as an illustration that free education did not undermine parental responsibility.

"It is all very well," he said, "to talk about our institutions, and to laud the state of things that exists, but underneath what we see there is a great deal that is not seen, or that, being seen, is not seen with sufficiently careful and scrutinising eyes; and amongst those facts nothing is to me more terrible than that whole hosts of children should be living and growing up without the smallest prospect of having their minds or morals trained—and I quite believe that no man can have his mind trained without his morals being trained likewise, and that the training of the mind should be antecedent to the training of the morals."

Thorold Rogers and Lloyd Jones, who followed him, testified to the demand which the working class was making for compulsory and unsectarian education, and Thomas Green, the Chairman of the Birmingham Trades Council, who took part in the discussion, said he was sent to the meeting to support the League by a Council which was "composed of men of all politics and of all religions—from the Red Republican to the milkand-water Liberal-Conservative, from the Roman Catholic to the latest-discovered sect, the

Hallelujah Band." Jones told how the second Trade Union Congress, held in Birmingham. a few weeks previously, had voted for compulsory and unsectarian education, and how W. H. Wood, a strong Tory, was one of the staunchest supporters of the principle. Wood was secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, and, as such, had signed the notice convening the first Trade Union Congress the year before.

Several papers were read on the question of compulsion, and it was in the discussion of this subject that Applegarth made his speech.

He began by saving that so much had been said in the name of the working man that it almost seemed presumptuous for a working man to speak on behalf of his class; but much had been said about them which was "not exactly true." He claimed to speak for working men as a man who had lived among them and was one of them. The first meeting of working men that addressed was about twelve years before; the last one, the previous night. On every occasion he had tested the men in regard to education, and had never found an exception to his own opinionthat what we want is a national, compulsory, unsectarian system.

Applegarth proceeded to say that he had "a little score" to settle with the Archbishop of York, and went on: "The other day the Archbishop of York ventured to say that, if an attempt were made to introduce a compulsory system of education, such a system would meet with a hard

reception from a large proportion of the working classes. . . . Wherever he gets his information from I can't tell. . . . The working classes would never feel compulsion, and they would be only too glad of the opportunity to send their children to schools where they would get a good education. But no one knows better than the men themselves that there are amongst the working people two classes. There is the careless and indifferent man, who has been so long neglected and degraded that he does not understand the value of education; and him the other class, the better class of working men, have to carry on their backs. Those men who do not understand the value of education must be made to understand it. The Archbishop of York said the voluntary system had done a noble work, and that it was competent to meet all the demands of the future. I am not one to disparage the efforts of the clergy in the voluntary system; but I will say this-that that portion of the clergy which has done the real work in the education of the people consists of underpaid curates, who would be only too glad to get rid of this extra work and get a little extra pay for the religious services they have to conduct. What has voluntaryism done? Why, it has provided school accommodation for two million children; but for the want of that great principle, compulsion, there are 700.000 vacant seats. We are told that this voluntary system has provided 16,000 schools; but so unequally are they distributed that in the

diocese of Norfolk there are 120 parishes without a school."

After pressing home the case against voluntaryism with the statistics quoted at the beginning of this chapter, Applegarth concluded: "The object of the League, I take it, is to work in contradistinction to the present system, which helps those who are best able to help themselves. leaving to starve and rot in ignorance those who have not the power to help themselves. Some people have said that they fear that, if we have a free system of education, the working classes will not know how to appreciate it. Well, if they do not, we must make them know. I have seen the school systems both of America and Switzerland, and I never came across a man in either of those countries who felt that he was not doing his duty because he allowed his child to go to a free school. And what can be said of the people of America and Switzerland, would, no doubt, be said of the people of England, if our educational system were made compulsory. It is no use trying to mix up a national education with any portion of religion, however small the dose. We are not prepared to have gospel and geography mixed together. The working classes want education. They know that the classes above them have been tinkering with this question, whilst vice and misery and prostitution have piled up a colossal mountain of iniquity. If the League knows its duty it will go in for a compulsory, unsectarian, and free system-for a measure which will put high and low on the same level in an educational sense. And now, Sir, I am here to give my adhesion to the National Education League; not that I think its principles reach exactly and altogether the wants of the working classes, but because it goes a step in the right direction; and I shall be only too glad if the Legislature see their course to a thoroughly radical measure."

Mundella's contribution to the same discussion is particularly interesting in view of present-day foreign competition. He told the meeting that he had with him a copy of the new Labour Act of North Germany, which prescribed that no child should begin work until the age of 12, and after having been six years at school; that every child between the ages of 12 and 14 should work not more than six hours daily, and should attend school three hours daily; and that every child, from the ages of 14 to 16 should attend school for six hours every week. The instruction was technical and scientific, and included the teaching of languages. Mundella went on to state that he had, again and again, visited schools in Saxony, and had seen twelve-year-old children peasants, framework-knitters, spinners, weavers, and ironworkers, mentally convert money from thalers and grösohen to dollars and cents, then into francs and centimes, and then back again into the German coinage. "I have," he said, "gone the length and breadth of the land and examined children by the wayside, children in factories and cottages, and have never found one of twelve years of age who could not read and write well-not as we understand reading an I writing, but such reading and such writing as I. or any other in this room, have attained. They read and write intelligently. I have tried to find some corner or spot in Saxony, or the canton of Zurich, or some Swiss canton, where there are uneducated children. I have always failed."

And that was in 1869.

Mundella went on to compare English education with that of the Continent. "Was there ever," he asked, "a more complete failure than the Workshop Act? To neglect a child till he is 8. 9. or 10 years of age, and then, when he first commences to work, to insist on his going to school, is about the most objectionable and unreasonable form of compulsion, I think, that it is possible for the human mind to devise."

On the religious aspect of the question, Mundella said: "The word 'secular' has been scandalously abused. All truth is holy."

The Hon. Auberon Herbert and G. J. Holyoake contributed papers in defence of secular education. Herbert said:--"We have formed the habit of looking upon morality as the property, the special province, of the clergy. But morality is not to be enclosed within such narrow bounds. Morality is of the home, and the street, and the public building, as much as of the church and the class-room. Its limits, its tendencies, its developments, are not determined by a class amongst us, but by the action of all those mixed intelligences which form society. The professional teachers have always conformed, and must conform to the climate of opinion that grows round them. . . If, then, morality is in no fashion a class property, who are to be responsible for the teaching of it? I answer, the State, for that which concerns the State; our Churches, for that which concerns the Churches."

Holyoake's paper was on "Misconceptions as to Secular Education." "That knowledge which is secular," he said, "is not, as many imagine. necessarily opposed to that which is religious. It is merely distinct from it. It merely ignores that which stands outside its province. Just as mathematics ignores chemistry and does not assail it; just as jurisprudence ignores geology, but does not deny it; so that which is secular stands apart from theology, but neither denies nor assails it. . . . There is one advantage of the secular rule of instruction which might commend it to all earnest men. So long as religion is taught apart from school instruction, and with optional attendance, it will matter little whether it is 'sectarian' or not. Sectarianism is not a sin when it ceases to be intolerant. It is then but that honest form of faith, which best supplies the wants of the soul professing it. To reduce religion to an impossible generalisation of the Bible and the mere belief in God-creating a sort of Parliamentary piety (which is what is meant by 'unsectarianism')—is to efface the individuality of devotion, which makes religion picturesque and passionate, and is harder for the earnest believer to accept than secular instruction, which meddles intentionally neither with his faith nor his conscience.

On the evening of the aecond day of the Conference, a great meeting was held in the Town Hall. Henry Holland, the Mayor, was in the chair, and the great gallery and floor were filled by working men; other parts of the hall being reserved for ladies and members of the League. Attacking the denominational system, Mr. Chamberlain said:—

"I say that, even if they had been a great deal more successful than they really have been, it is the worst kind of Conservatism to say that, because a thing is good of its kind, it shall not be supplanted by something which is better and more complete. I cannot understand the propriety of keeping a grown up man in swaddling clothes because he looked very well in them when he was a baby. To plead for the retention of the denominational system, under which more than half the children of this country are growing up without any education worthy the name, because threefourths of the remainder are brought up in the Church of England schools, is as ridiculous as for an old Protectionist to have pleaded for the Corn Laws, at a time when thousands were perishing for want of food, because three-fourths of the rest drew their daily supplies from the granaries of the farmers. But the real reason why our opponents support the denominational system is not because they believe it to be the best means of securing the education of the people, but because they believe it to be the only means by which they can maintain a monopoly of instruction. Our choice is between the education of the people and the interests of the Church."

In the agitation throughout the country, which followed the Birmingham meeting, Robert Applegarth and George Howell were the principal spokesmen for the working class.

Many were the meetings at which Robert Applegarth drove home, in most uncompromising fashion, the demand for State education, free, compulsory, and unsectarian. He and the Rev. A. S. Steinthal, of Manchester, were the official speakers of the League at a big meeting in the City Hall, Glasgow.

"It is said," Applegarth declared, "that the abolition of school pence will disgrace us. I should not like gentlemen to make that statement to a shopful of American workmen who have had free education for many years. They would fare very badly. My experience is, not that American workers are degraded by free education, but that many other workers are degraded for the lack of education. It is proposed, by the Bill now before the country, to give, to a certain extent, free education, and give it in the most objectionable of all forms. The Bill proposes that, where the parents are

too poor to pay the school pence, the children are to have their education free. In other words, the children of the poorest parents are to have pauper tickets pinned upon their backs, thus allowing the other children to point them out as pauper children. On the other hand, it gives opportunities for the less needy, the less deserving, to get their children's education for nothing."

He went on to emphasise that the question was essentially a workmen's question. Clergymen and University men had helped, and for that help he thanked them. "But it is more important," he cried, "that the workers should take the question into their own hands. caution them against allowing it to become a question of party politics. It belongs to no party at all. You should seek support from Whigs, Radicals, and Tories, and accept the support of all. I desire that the various workers' organisations should be taxed to their very utmost capacity to promote this great education question. If we cannot get middle-class men to do our bidding on this question, let us try our hand at sending some of our own men to Parliament who we know will do the work thoroughly for us. "*

Applegarth never lost a chance of pleading the cause of the League. On the afternoon before the Glasgow meeting he attended a strike meeting of a thousand carpenters and joiners in that city. The strike business over, he asked per-

North British Mail. March 4th, 1870.

mission to introduce the subject of education, and the result was that the Scottish carpenters declared their sympathy with the struggle of the people of England and Wales for education, and pledged themselves to lend what assistance they could.

Addressing a packed meeting in the Mechanics' Hall, Nottingham, a week later, when he and the Hon. Auberon Herbert were the principal speakers, Applegarth said:—

"My great aim is that the working class should always speak out and tell the Government what they want, and then put the acrew on members to induce them to vote in the direction we desire. We have now the power to do this, and it is to be hoped that we shall not neglect to use it."*

He arrived while the meeting was in progress, having travelled from London, where he had been one of a deputation to Mr. Gladstone, Earl de Grey and Ripon, and Mr. W. E. Forster. The deputation attended to urge that the Government Bill should be amended so as to meet the demands of the League. The speakers were the Chairman of the League (George Dixon), Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Dilke, Mundella, Applegarth, Alfred Illingworth (the Member for Knaresborough), the Rev. F. Barham Zincke (Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen), the Rev. Charles Vince, a Nonconformist minister of Birmingham. It was Applegarth's business to voice the views of the

Nottingham and Midland Counties Express, March 10th, 1870.

working classes. "We hold," he said, "that on the education question we have been grossly misrepresented. Lord Robert Montague has spoken in the name of the working classes, the Archbishop of York has spoken, Lord Marlborough has spoken, and many other gentlemen whose good intentions I do not for one moment question, but whose knowledge of our wants and requirements I do question very much. They have said what we want and what we do not want, and they have said we are satisfied with what we are very discontented with. . . . Sir, the working classes throughout the country have long declared in favour of compulsory education, and I should be sorry to be regarded as speaking in the name of those I know little about; but my claim in speaking for the working classes is that I bave worked with them and for them all the days of my life."*

When considering his Education Bill. Forster consulted Mundella, and on more than one occasion the two men discussed the subject with Applegarth, who has written of one of these conversations: "Forster was conceding too much to the Church party, and I told him that this would alienate the support of the National Education League, which was the backbone of the education movement. Forster was not the most pleasant adversary in debate. When I told him that the members of the League would surely fight him on the religious difficulty he was creating, he tartly replied, 'Then they will have to fight.' "*

At one of these meetings Applegarth made a statement respecting education in Switzerland, the accuracy of which Forster questioned. Mundella confirmed the statement, and added that he had supplied the data on which it was based, and he further suggested that, as Applegarth was about to visit the Continent to attend the Congress of the "International" at Basle, he should prolong his stay in Switzerland, investigate the educational system of that country and report the result of his inquiries to Forster. Forster readily fell in with the suggestion and the result was that when the Congress was over Applegarth set about investigating the education system. He wrote a report on what he saw and presented it to Mr. Forster.

Forster having given permission for the publication of the information Applegarth had gathered, Applegarth wrote a series of articles for The Bee-Hive, The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, The Newcastle Daily Chronicle, and The Scotsman. A perusal of the artcles shows them to have been a valuable contribution to the educational discussion of their time, and also that they were no small tribute to Applegarth's capacity as an investigator.

He paid particular attention to the school system in the Canton of Zurich, as it had often been held up by educational reformers as a model for England. It was found that for the 31,069

[·] Hotspur Club Paper.

children in the Canton of Zurich, between the ages of 6 and 12 years, 366 primary schools and 537 teachers were provided. For the first three years, the children attended school for from 18 to 24 hours a week, and for the remaining three years for from 24 to 27 hours. They paid three francs a year for the first three years; afterwards. the education was free. For the first three years the subjects taught were religion,* German, arithmetic, writing, and gymnastics; for the last three years history, geography, drawing, geometry, and natural history-with sewing and knitting for girls-were added. In the city of Zurich the number of children in a class ranged from 40 to 50.

From 12 to 15 years of age children, not otherwise receiving instruction, were compelled to attend, for two and a half days a week, a secondary school, where French, the constitutional system of Switzerland, and the elements of physics with their application to agriculture and manufacture were in the curriculum. Instruction for two and a half days was free, and for the whole of the course there was a charge of 24 francs. There were sixty such schools in the Canton of Zurich. A yet higher school was the Cantonal school with what we know as "classical" and "modern" sides, the fee being 24 and 30 francs per halfyear respectively. The schools for the training of teachers for the primary schools were open free to students of 15 years of age and upwards who

^{*} For the interpretation of religious teaching see page 226.

had satisfactorily passed through a secondary school, and, for 240 francs a year, board, lodging, and medical attendance were provided. Scholarships to the value of 8,000 francs per year were available for students of limited means. Teachers might retire on a penaion, of at least half the amount of their salary, after thirty years' service.

Applegarth visited Agricultural Schools and Veterinary Schools, but he was most interested in the Professional Schools of Watchmaking. "At Geneva, Chaux-de-Fonds, Locle, and St. Imici," he wrote, "there are excellent schools of this kind. Each school has its director and staff of professors to teach the theoretical, and a staff of highly-skilled workmen to teach the practical, part of the trade. These achools were founded by Government and are assisted by yearly grants from the State funds. Pupils pay 28s. a year, and the course of studies lasts three years. Seven hours per day are devoted to 'tools and bench,' and two hours to scientific study. With such a system of training as this, there is little wonder that Switzerland is the greatest watch-producing country in the world, and that a Swiss watchmaker can always command employment either in England or the United States. He leaves the école d'horlogerie with a capable scientific, as well as a practical, knowledge of every part of the watchmaking trade, and though he may afterwards confine himself to one branch, yet the general knowledge he has obtained of every branch enables him to detect error and remedy it. while

the English watchmaker, who has served seven years' apprenticeship to one branch of the trade. is wondering 'why the deuce the thing won't come right.' ''*

Applegarth also paid a visit to the Polytechnicum at Zurich; the University of Switzerland. This was established in 1854, at a cost of £156,000 of which the State contributed £20,000 and the canton of Zurich the remainder, as well as the site. The building was one of the most magnificent in Switzerland. The students numbered nearly 800, and 145 subjects were taught. looking over the long list of professors' names," Applegarth wrote in The Bee-Hive, "I inquired how they managed to keep up the number and efficiency of the staff? The reply I received was, 'By seeking for the best men that Germany, Italy, and France can produce.' I rejoined, 'Do you seek for them in England?' 'No,' was the prompt reply, 'Englishmen come not here to teach, but to be taught.""*

Dealing with the contention that the English people would resent an educational tax. Apple garth stated: "Why any serious opposition should be offered to a tax for the education of the people. I could never understand, especially when I consider the enormous taxation with which we are burthened for the punishment of crime and the relief of pauperism, to say nothing of the tax of 'charity gifts' of all sorts, the great bulk of which

Bee-Hive. March 5th. 1870.

would be neither needed nor accepted if the people were possessed of that spirit of independence and self-reliance which education imparts."*

Applegarth found that, in Switzerland, it was a common practice for the people to voluntarily pay large additional sums to the teachers in the form of a supplementary salary. In 1867, the 254 teachers in the Canton of Zurich received such additions to their salaries, which amounted, in the aggregate, to a sum of 94,000 francs. The State took the teachers into its confidence, appointed them as School Commissioners, and encouraged them to offer suggestions for improvements. The result was that the school system owed many improvements to their co-operation, "while, with regard to the public, the teachers occupy that position to which, as a body of men charged with the task of educating the people, they have a right to aspire."*

Applegarth was everywhere informed that the teaching in the schools was unsectarian, but knowing how various, in England, were the interpretations of unsectarianism, he went to a teacher of 30 years' experience for an explanation of the teaching given under the head of religion. His informant told him that "the so-called religious instruction" is limited to a development of the fundamental moral principles," during the first three years, and that during the next three years the instruction was more historical than

[.] Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, March 5th, 1870.

specifically religious; and towards the end of the sixth school-year some of the doctrines of the New Testament were considered and explained. The class books contained no extracts from the Bible at all, nor were they written in Biblical language. The instruction was neither dogmatical nor confessional in the primary schools, therefore, every child, whether Protestant, Catholic, or Jew, was obliged to hear it, such as it was, and it was given by the school teacher exclusively. In the higher schools, where religion was taught by clergymen, no child was obliged to attend the teachings of a clergyman not of his own belief.*

In the closing article of the series, Applegarth dealt with the question as to whether education should be free and compulsory; and he pointed to "the fact that in Prussia, Northern Germany, Switzerland, Saxony, Holland, and other parts, every alteration of the school laws, for years past, had been in the direction of free education."

Of what he wrote on compulsion, the League circulated half-a-million copies. "If," stated Applegarth, "there is one part of the plan of the National Education League above another which the working classes consider to be essential, and about which they have thoroughly made up their minds, it is that of compulsory attendance, and thus it is the chief cause of the support given to the National Education League by working men, while they are content to look on and smile at the

^{*} Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, February 8th, 1870.

[†] Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, February 12th, 1870.

nonsense uttered in the name of our class by gentlemen of the Union.'* It will no longer do to tell us 'we don't want compulsion.' statements are alike opposed to reason and experience. It will not do to urge that the skilled workmen have no right to speak on behalf of, and demand for, the poorest portion of their fellow workmen. No one knows better than the artisan that the poor are taxed to keep the poorer still, and, knowing that they are obliged to contribute taxes for the benefit of their less fortunate fellowcreatures, they claim the right to demand that their taxes shall be expended on schools instead of on prisons and workhouses. It is too late to tell us that 'compulsion is un-English and interferes with the liberty of the subject.' Our working men are fast learning to estimate at its proper value the cant which has been too long preached to them about the 'liberty of the subject,' and they are fast learning that they have duties to perform, as well as rights to receive. And, slthough many of them have as much love for themselves and stickle as much about their 'rights and liberties' as any of their 'liberty-ofthe-subject' friends could desire, yet among the great body of our working people there is a widespread appreciation of the great moral lesson conveyed in the words, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself ' "

Then Applegarth, as was so often the case,

^{*} The Manchester Education Union.

pointed to what was beyond the immediate practical issue and held up the ideal; pointed out how the work in hand was but a foundation; a means to au end. "Working men are beginning to see not only that they must have education to enable them to compete in the race of industry with the workmen of other countries, but that there is even something better than an 'educated working man'; that education can do. and will do, more than make them clever ' hewers of wood and drawers of water '-that to be complete men and enjoy life in its most enlightened form is what even working men may attain to."

He went on to sweep aside the contention that taxation was too heavy to have added to it the cost of education. If parents' wages were so low that they could not do without their children's earnings that was but one manifestation of the social problem, and education meant the solution of such problems. So he should but urge the people to redouble their efforts for a national system of education and so bring themselves "nearer to the solution of those great social problems which it would be more statesmanlike and patriotic to grapple with now than defer to a future generation."*

Soon after the passing of the Education Act of 1870 the Labour Representation League established a Working Men's School Board Central Committee with the object of placing working

[•] Compulsory Education," by Robert Applegarth (Circular of the League, undated).

men on the newly-constituted Boards. Nine candidates went to the poll in the Metropolitan area. Applegarth upholding the cause in the division of Lambeth. Benjamin Hannan, who, the reader may remember, we have already referred to as secretary to the London Master Builders' Association, stood aside from nomination in favour of Applegarth, and contributed £20 to the latter's election fund. Thomas Hughes was chairman of Applegarth's committee, and most of the eminent men of the National Education League supported his candidature. Many distinguished men sent him letters wishing him success. "I greatly desire that you may succeed," wrote John Stuart Mill. "I shall be very glad to see you on the Board," came from Huxley. Stanley Jevons wrote that Applegarth's election would be "a great advantage to Lambeth "; and Thorold Rogers did not know "any representative of working men in London who more deserves confidence being placed in him than you do for diligence and intelligent consideration of their interests."

In the course of his election address, Applegarth said:—

"I am in favour of those provisions of the Act which will prevent the possibility of poverty being offered as an excuse for keeping children from school; and would support Free Education as far as it was found necessary.

"In advocating Compulsory Attendance, I do not mean that I would force every child into

National Schools. The compulsion should be such that no child should be brought up in ignorance.

"I am decidedly in favour of Unsectarian Teaching, and consider that Parliament has wisely decided that 'No religious catechism or religious formulary, which is distinctive of any particular denomination, shall be taught in the school.' Any attempt to make the School Board a battle-ground for sectarian differences would meet with my most strenuous opposition. The great and crying want of England is education; and no consideration of tenet, creed, or politics, should be allowed to divert the labours of the School Board from their legitimate purpose.

"I regard 'The Elementary Education Act, 1870,' as but the beginning of a great national work; and, on the principle of doing one thing at a time and doing it well, I should devote my best efforts towards securing for every child all the good which that Act is capable of producing; but if our industries are to live and prosper, and England is to hold her own in the markets of the world, if the people are ever to enjoy life in its highest and most enlightened form, the youth of this country must be placed on a footing of equality, with regard to scientific instruction, with those of other countries whose labour is brought into direct competition with our own; and the children of the poor must be placed on a footing of equality with those of the rich, in having access to the various Educational Institutions for which their capacities may fit them, from our National Infant Schools to what ought to be our National Universities.

"The above is an outline of the principles by which I should be guided, if elected. In conclusion, I may add, that in this matter I recognise neither sect nor party. And though I have specially laboured for the social and intellectual elevation of my own class, I trust that I am not on that account less entitled to appeal for support to all classes."

There were sixteen candidates in the division, and five representatives were required. Applegarth polled 7,682 votes and came out sixth on the poll. The movement for the direct representation of the working class on governing bodies was but in its infancy. The only man of the nine working-class candidates who won a seat was Benjamin Lucraft, who succeeded at Finsbury.

Applegarth was a member of the Executive of the Education League at the time, and he remained so until the organisation became defunct, about ten years later, thus playing his part in making more perfect the beginnings of 1870.

CHAPTER X.

1870.

WAR CORRESPONDENT.

For what can war, but endless war, still breed?

—MILTON.

In 1870, Robert Applegarth had his first and last experience of war. Soon after the outbreak of the conflict between France and Prussia, he was taking a holiday and was invited by the London representative of The New York World, The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, and The Scotsman to go to the front and send home a series of letters. He said he knew nothing of military tactics or the science of warfare, but he would write of the effects of the war on the working classes in France, Prussia, and Belgium. It was agreed that he should do so; and it was characteristic of Applegarth that, when setting out for the seat of war, he took with him a useful bundle of linen—eventually left for the wounded in the hospital at Cologne.

He arrived at Saarbruck, where the first engagement was fought, shortly after the con-

clusion of the battle and saw the graves of the dead on the battlefield. Here he met Dr. Humphry Sandwith, who, as Inspector-General of Hospitals, had worked heroically through the siege of Kars, in 1855, even winning the admiration of the enemy, for when Kars capitulated Sandwith was liberated in recognition of his humane treatment of Russian prisoners. Outside Metz and Forbach, Applegarth saw fighting, and after the slaughter had ceased he assisted in the care and removal of the wounded. He found Sir Charles Dilke and the Hon. Auberon Herbert engaged in a similar work of mercy. Herbert was badly off for footgear, for he wore one Wellington boot and one Blucher I

Mr. Applegarth's strong sympathy with the industrial classes, who had everything to lose and nothing to gain by the war, was evidenced in all he wrote. In a communication to The New York World, he stated:—"It is, to my mind, of the highest importance that, above all others, the working men of all countries should clearly and fully understand the miseries and hardships inflicted by war on themselves as a class. We have been told that, if the people were wise, kings would have to do their own fighting, and I am convinced that if the working men but knew their strength, and were wise enough to use it. we should have no more of the working men of one country being led, sword in hand, to slaughter their fellow-workmen of other countries, with whom they have no quarrel, and with whom, in

their hearts, they desire to live in peace. With regard to the present conflict between France and Prussia, no one has considered it as part of their duty to visit the homes of those who have been, on one pretence or another, induced to leave fields of industry for the field of slaughter, or to inquire about those who suffer in silence, and who, unheeded and uncared for, are called upon to do battle against hunger, poverty, and wretchedness. This page in the history of the war, which, in the interests of our common humanity, ought to be faithfully recorded, as yet remains unwritten. Whether anyone with the necessary experience will ever undertake the task of making such inquiries and writing this essential page of our history, or whether it is destined to go for ever unrecorded, remains to be seen, but, feeling atrongly the opinion I have expressed, I have availed myself of the opportunity during a visit to Belgium and the Rhine provinces. of making such inquiries as will, I hope, enable me to contribute, in some degree, towards enabling those who are the greatest sufferers by war to understand what the working men and their families on the Continent are now suffering, and to impress them with the fact, which cannot be too often stated, that the power of preventing war rests with the working classes, if they are only wise enough to use it."

Applegarth arrived in Brussels in time to attend the quarterly meeting of the Federal Council of the "International," for Brussels and district, and there he met representatives of all the im portant branches of industry. He found the men "unanimous in their condemnation of the Emperor and his policy, and decidedly Prussian in their sympathies in regard to the war." They spoke of the Emperor as the "Despot of France," and Applegarth wrote:—"I think I could, without difficulty, have induced them to have subscribed for a rope, but I should have failed in an attempt to persuade any of them to perform the operation d la Calcraft* if any opportunity was offered them, such was their contempt for the man."

Writing of the disastrous effects of the war on the industries of Belgium, Applegarth compared the working hours in that country with those which prevailed in England:-" In England ten hours, and, in many instances, nine hours per day, is what we mean by full time, and with what feelings the workmen of England and America regard the number of hours now constituting a week's work may be seen by the efforts they are making, and the steady and sure progress of the 'short time movement' in both countries. But 'full time' in Verviers means five o'clock in the morning till eight o'clock at night, with an hour and three-quarters for meals, and, in very many instances, the men work the same number of hours on Sunday. This is an average day's work, but many mills, in busy times, work with the same hands, many more hours per day. One

[•] The then public executioner in England.

workman stated that he had, for eighteen months previous to the war, worked from five in the morning till ten at night, and on Fridays the whole night, with half-an-hour's rest at midnight. On expressing a doubt, which I did without hesitation, as to any man being able to work such a number of hours for such a length of time, some dozen workmen who were present instantly corroborated the statement, and added that it was not at all exceptional."

In a letter to The Scotsman, sent from Saarbruck, the inadequate provision for the care of the wounded was severely criticised:-" Whatever else may be proved by the war between France and Prussia, one thing has been demonstrated—namely, that it is utterly impossible for the Governments of Germany or France to provide adequate means of administering to the wants of the wounded so as to keep pace with the engines of destruction employed in the contest; and it would appear that the people of Germany anticipated this. In this direction a noble work has been done, whenever it fell into practical hands; but it is only too palpable that, through utter incompetency and lack of organisation in many instances, a vast amount of unnecessary suffering has been endured, and that there has been an amount of waste which is deplorable to contemplate. I had not been long in Cologne before I heard bitter complaints of troops starving and food wasting; of wounded soldiers lying from twenty to forty hours on the battlefield, many of them dying for want of attention; and surgeons of other countries desirous of rendering the assistance so much needed returning home in disgust at the treatment they received at the hands of the officials, military and otherwise. If the people who threw their whole heart into the war, and who were cheerfully making the greatest of sacrifices, bad been free to form their own organisation for the distribution of their own benevolence, the practical men of all classes would have combined, and the utterly inadequate means of the Government would have been sufficiently supplemented; but it appears that King William, who rules by divine right, considered that even works of public benevolence cannot be carried out except by the aid of Princes.

"He consequently appointed Prince Pless as the official head, who, in turn appointed a delegate in each department, through whom, alone, the gifts of the benevolent would be received. Wealth and titles were considered in each subsequent appointment, but no regard was paid to fitness. In Cologne, during the early part of the war, the organisation was entirely in the hands of those who, though actuated by the highest motives with regard to the suffering soldiers, systematically choked off every one 'beneath them.' and were themselves unable for the task they had undertaken. The result was that trains of wounded arrived during the night and found no one ready to receive them. When food was urgently wanted at the front, railway waggonloads of bread had lain so long at Cologne that it was unfit for use and was thrown into the Rhine.'

Giving credit where credit was due, as was habitual with him, Robert Applegarth praised the arrangements in the field hospital at Saarbruck. Another military hospital he went through was at Bonn, where, "having wandered through every room, I was glad to leave the sickening sights I had witnessed."

Many years afterwards, when Mr. Applegarth's long years of public service were publicly recognised, a handsome contribution came to the Testimonial Committee from a German manufacturer, of Berlin, who sent it "in recognition of his services to the wounded during the Franco-Prussian war."

CHAPTER XI.

1870-1871.

RESIGNATION.

AFTER nearly nine years' work as General Secretary of the Carpenters and Joiners, the time arrived when Applegarth had to fight his own Executive. There was, however, no very prolonged conflict; for Applegarth would not work where he could not do so in general accord with his associates.

From a record of the facts, the reader must be left to form his own conclusions as to where lay any blame, or to what extent personal ill-feeling led to Robert Applegarth's handing over the reins of the Carpenters and Joiners.

In July, 1868, Applegarth was elected General Secretary, for the sixth time, by 3,285 votes, against 850 for his opponent; in 1869, he received 3,242 votes against 451 and 90; and in 1870, 2,320 against 186, 197, and 132. It will thus be seen that he retained the confidence of the great majority of the members.

In September, 1870, he was appointed on the Royal Commission which inquired into the work-

ing of the Contagious Diseases Acts, and had the distinction of being the first working man to receive such an appointment. Three resolutions from London branches, making inquiry with respect to the appointment, were immediately sent to the Executive, which, on October 6th, passed the following resolution:-" In answer to these inquiries, the E.C. are aware that the General Secretary is appointed to sit on the Royal Comission referred to: but they are not aware that it has, or will, in any way, cause him to neglect his duties as General Secretary. When such is the case, it will then be time enough for the Executive Council to interfere. We may add that there is no remuneration whatever connected with the appointment."*

A few London branches, however, were still troubled at the prospect of their General Secretary attending meetings of the Commission during the day, and in February, 1871, by the casting vote of the Chairman, Applegarth was instructed by the Executive not to give up his time to the Commission during the day. This instruction he disregarded.

On March 2nd the decision was reversed, and a resolution was passed which stated that: "Considering the great importance of competent working men taking part in the making and inquiring into laws by which the working classes generally are governed, the Executive Council consider that they would not be doing their duty

[•] A.S.C.J. Monthly Report, October, 1870.

to the society if they placed any obstacle in the way of the General Secretary sitting on the Royal Commission. We look upon the appointment of the General Secretary on that Commission as an honour done to our society, and an acknowledgment of what we have long considered and struggled for as our rights, viz., the right to have a voice in making laws by which we are governed. The E.C. therefore consider it to be their duty not only to sanction the General Secretary's attendance at the sittings of the Commission, but to offer him every facility for doing so, as we feel satisfied that the business of the society has not suffered nor is likely to suffer, by his temporary absence."

This resolution was carried by three votes to one, and one member remained neutral.

In April, 1871, there was a change in the personnel of the Executive,* and on April 29th, at a meeting of five members and the chairman, a resolution was carried by four votes to one, and led to Applegarth's resignation. It was an answer to ten resolutions from various branches; mostly in London.

The motion stated that the Executive had no objection to the General Secretary's sitting on a Royal Commission so long as he only attended the meetings after office hours. The office hours—read the motion—had been fixed in 1864, and had been "continually violated by the General

^{*} It should be explained that the Executive was elected solely from members or branches in London.

Secretary." The resolution proceeded: -- "We shall not allow our society to be tickled by the mere sentiment which has been imported into the question, such as 'the honour reflected on our society by the General Secretary having been selected as a member of a Royal Commission.' We have yet to learn that any honour can be reflected on our body by an inquiry into such a loathsome subject, or that members of our society are specially affected by the question, or possess any special knowledge of the matter." Executive "unhesitatingly" refused to sanction Applegarth's sitting on the Commission except after office hours "especially considering the great neglect which the General Secretary was guilty of during the recent election of the E.C." The resolution went on to allege that the General Secretary had caused unnecessary delay and expense in the election of the Executive, made reference to the "enormous expense" which had been incurred for office assistance—for 1870 the amount was £39 18s. !*—and wound up by stating that saving the funds and restoring the society to a sound financial position was "of far greater moment to the members than Royal Commissions."+

Mr. Applegarth was present when the resolution was passed. He immediately tendered his resignation. The death of his wife, a short time

[·] Annual Report, 1870.

The year 1870 had been one in which the society had suffered much from trade depression. In donation £10.052 was paid, against £5,004 in 1869; in sick pay £5,513 against £5,008, and in funeral nllowance £1,038 against £829. Yet, at the end of the year the balance had only decreased from £17,626 to £17,568.

before, had somewhat sapped his fighting form and increased the responsibility of a family of five little children. He was less able to combat the opposition of the little group who were opposed to him.

During the whole of the time he had held office as General Secretary he had always been ready to give of his best in aiding any other class of workers, or furthering any movement which he believed made for the welfare of the whole community. That the society had not suffered as a result of his varied activities its records bear ample testimony. With pardonable warmth, he told the Executive, in a few vigorous sentences, that his conception of his duty as General Secretary was not that of a mere minute clerk, and that, looking at the field in which a Trade Union leader should labour, his horizon was not bounded by the walls of the office.

Expecting that the above resolution would be passed by the Executive, Applegarth had previously written out his resignation. He stated:—

"As you have passed your resolution disapproving of my sitting on the Royal Commission, I now beg you to accept my resignation.

"No one holding the position I do, possessed of a spark of manhood, could retain office after such a decision, which, in my judgment, is as much opposed to the cause of progress as I believe it to be in opposition to the feelings and opinions of the majority of our members."

In a letter to the members of the Society, dated May 1st, Applegarth stated:—

I did not seek the appointment; it came to ma.

I did not select the subject of the inquiry; that was impossible.

And in self-defence I state most emphatically, that I have neglected no single duty of my office to attend to the business of the Commission. In addition, I ought to state that before I accepted the position, I consulted with several working men, whose judgment I valued, as to the propriety of my doing so; and, in addition, I took the advice of a considerable number of persons, not working men, whose names are known throughout the country as sincere friends of the working classes, and whose personal friendship is one of my most cherished privileges; and from these the unanimous opinion of every one was that I should accept the offer. They said that though the inquiry was not a pleasant one, it was necessary; that it affected the health and happiness of large numbers of people; that the British Parliament had deemed it necessary; and that the Government, in offering me, as a representative working man, a seat on it, had broken through an old rule of exclusion, and that it would be highly impolitic not to acknowledge the concession, and, by doing so, open the door to working men to similar positions in which much good service

Right or wrong, I adopted the advice of my friends, and, perhaps, the more readily, as, from my boyhood almost, I had laboured with whatever small power I may possess, but with earnestness and zeal, always for the measures calculated to promote the welfare of my order.

might be done in the interests of labour; that this being the first offer, if accepted, others might follow directly in connection with the interests of labour, from which great advantages might be derived by working men.

In the interests of the Society, I am anxious to prevent damaging disagreements amongst its officers. In the interests of Trade Unionism, and of working men generally, I am anxious to avoid personal quarrels, which degrade decent men in their own eyes and lower them in the estimation of others.

After expressing the belief that it was personal feeling which really lay behind the resolution of the Executive, Applegarth proceeded:

I need scarcely add, after nearly nine years' service, that my resolution has been very reluctantly come to. With me, it has been a pride and a boast that I found the Society small in numbers—its 805 members have increased to 10,500. The growth could not have come had I been neglectful of my duties or stinting in my services.

To many shortcomings I may, perhaps, plead guilty, but with carelessness or indifference to my duties A

cannot be fairly charged.

I need not express here how deep the regret is which I feel in severing a connection which has existed with, I think, upon the whole, mutual satisfaction to myself and to the Society. I cannot blams the Society; I shall always regard its progress with pleasure; my interest in its welfare can never cease; and in retiring from my present office, my great desire is that, in appointing my successor, and in the future election of those who, as Council men, may have to work with him, men of honest intentions, generous manliness of character, and broad general views may be chosen; that the progress of Trades' Societies may be in accordance with sound liberal progress in general society; and that no unseemly disagreements may degrade Trades Associations in the eyes of the world or risk their safety by the ill-feeling, strife, and disunion they engender*

Unhappy events followed the tendering of Mr. Applegarth's resignation. Several members of the Executive engaged other rooms as offices, and, faced with a difficult situation, Applegarth summoned a meeting of the General Council, in London. The Executive refused to recognise the authority of the Council, and five of them broke

^{*} Following his resignation the members collected subscriptions, and as a result the departing General Secretary received tangible appreciation of his services in the form of a gold watch.

away from the Society, installing themselves in their new premises, having previously removed the Society's property from the Society's office.

All but an insignificant portion of the organisation, however, rallied to the support of the General Council and Mr. Applegarth. The seat of Government was removed to Manchester; five members of the Executive were expelled, by 2,817 votes to 289.* and at the end of 1871 the Society, with headquarters at Manchester, had only 414 fewer members and £739 11s. 33d. less funds than the Amalgamated Society at the end of 1870. In the autumn of 1870 it was agreed that five prominent Trade Unionists; should by arbitration decide to which body belonged the title "Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners." The arbitrators decided in favour of the Manchester body, and held that the General Council was the highest tribunal of the Society. †

The Report for June, 1871, was the last signed by Applegarth. He was succeeded by Mr. John D. Prior. He left office, but not the Society, and, to this day, the Sheffield No. 1 Branch of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners numbers Robert Applegarth among its members

[•] A.S.C.J. Report, July, 1871.

[†] They were John Kane, George Odger, Daniel Gnile, William Hicking, and Robert Austin.

I"Report of Board of Arbitration and Arbitration Awards."

[§] At the end of 1912 the Society numbered 82.668 members; it had 1,056 branches, and funds amounting to £105,519 8s. 9id.

CHAPTER XII.

1870-1871.

On a Royal Commission.

Our vast populations of middle and working classes, especially the latter, ross against the legislation we opposed, because it was class legislation. This fact was the iron which entered into the soul of our English people; the fact that men of the upper classes had broken down our ancient safeguards, written in our constitution since the days of King John, in order that the sons of the upper classes might benefit (as was supposed) hy the destruction of the daughters of the people.

-Josephine Butler.

THE Contagious Diseases Acts were an example of that kind of legislation which, while in theory it applies equally to all classes, in actual practice only operates among the working population. Had it been at all likely that the wives and daughters of the wealthy would have been likely to suffer indignity because of the Acts they would never have passed through Parliament. But Parliament was not concerned with the "destruction of the daughters of the people."

Originated in France, by Napoleon, in 1802, other Continental countries followed the

example, but it was not until 1864 that the system represented by the Acts was put in force in England. The Act of 1864 was "for the prevention of contagious diseases at certain naval and military stations," and it was put into operation, experimentally, for two years. In 1866, it was renewed, and in 1869 was extended so that eighteen towns came within its scope. In other countries the system was carried out under police regulations; England alone "had the courage, or the audacity, to launch the system, in all its essential details, in the form of a public statute."*

The opposition to the Acts was based upon the principles of an equal standard of morality, and equal treatment before the law, for men and women. In their application, the laws were opposed because, in the words of the Protest issued by the Ladies' National Association for their repeal, "so far as women are concerned they remove every guarantee of personal security which the law has established and held sacred, and put their freedom, their reputation, and their persons absolutely in the power of the police."†

The Ladies' National Association and the National Anti-Contagious Diseases Acts Association were formed towards the end of 1869, and there can

^{• &}quot;Josephine Butler; an Autobiographical Memoir," Ed. by George W. and Lucy A. Johnson (Bristol, 1912). Quoting "The Laws in force for the Prohibition, Regulation, or Licensing of Vice in England and other countries," by Sheldon Amos (1877).

t" Josephine Butler; an Autoblographical Memoir." The signatures to the protest included those of Florence Nightlogale, Harriet Martineau, Mary Carpenter, Mary Priestman, Agnes McLaren, Ursula Bright, and Margaret Lucas.

be little, if anything, more heroic in the social history of this country than the way in which Josephine Butler led the campaign against the Acts.

To properly appreciate the great courage of Mrs. Butler, it is first necessary to realise that, in contrast to the comparative freedom with which the problem involved is discussed to-day, forty years ago there prevailed an indecent silence. But apart from the great moral strength needed in order to go out and fight the question in the open, physical courage was also necessary. There were occasions when Josephine Butler took her life in her hands. She was hooted and hunted and subjected to the vilest abuse. At a by-election at Colchester, in 1871, she had to escape from her hotel at night, the mob having threstened to set it on fire. In 1872, she was to address a meeting in a large hay-loft during a by-election at Pontefract. Bundles of straw beneath were set on fire and filled the room with smoke. Men crowded in and, Mrs. Butler wrote, "shook their fists in our faces, with volleys of oaths. We understood by their language that certain among them had a personal and vested interest in the evil thing. It was clear that they understood that 'their craft was in danger.' "*

Until 1874, Mrs. Butler has written, the Press closed its doors to the Repealers—after the publication of the Protest in *The Daily News*. An example of the treatment meted out to the move-

^{• &}quot;Josephine Butler: an Autobiographical Memoir."

ment by the newspapers is found in the fact that a meeting, attended by about 6,000 people in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, addressed, amongst others, by Jacob Bright, M.P., William Fowler, M.P., and Professor Sheldon Amos, was only noticed "in a local and partial manner."*

The appeal of the women's movement was directed, largely, to the working and lower middle classes, the best and most influential elements in which were won for the Repealers. Indeed, Mrs. Butler told the Royal Commission which, in 1870, the Government appointed to inquire into the working of the Acts, that she believed such measures would, in the North of England, be resisted by force.

Applegarth, however, had not made up his mind on the subject, and when the Commission was appointed, and he was invited to become a member of it, he was open to conviction. Never before had a working man been asked to take a similar position. When he went to see the Home Secretary (Mr. Bruce) about the matter, he urged that there were older men than himself among his colleagues who might more usefully fill the appointment. He said he would rather stand aside.

Mr. Bruce appeared to take offence. "Look here," he said, "you people have been knocking at the doors of the Home Office long enough because you were excluded from positions held by us—and no one has knocked harder than you.

^{• &}quot;Josephine Butler: A Cameo Life-Sketch," by Marion Holmes (16 pp., undated).

Yet now, when a position is offered, you refuse it. In my opinion, no man is better fitted than you."

So Applegarth accepted the seat, and his name duly appeared in the list of Commissioners as the "trusty and well-beloved" of the Sovereign. Other members included Lord Hardinge, Sir John Pakington, Sir Walter James, A. J. Mundella, Peter Rylands, W. Cowper-Temple, T. H. Huxley, F. D. Maurice, and Holmes Coote. Needless to say, at that time, no woman was appointed on the Commission, and Mrs. Butler told the Commission, in her evidence, that "its authority goes for nothing with those I represent; they consider it an absurdity, a mockery, that any tribunal of gentlemen, however wise and conscientious, should be set to inquire into a moral question like this."*

There was no more distinguished witness before the Commission than John Stuart Mill, who, asked if he considered the legislation "justifiable in principle," said: "I do not consider it justifiable in principle, because it appears to be opposed to one of the greatest principles of legislation: the security of personal liberty. It appears to me that legislation of this sort takes away that security almost entirely; from a particular class of women intentionally, but incidentally and unintentionally, one may say, from all women whatever."†

Dealing with the possible abuse of power by the police, Mill declared: "When power is given

[•] Minutes of Evidence. Q. 12,932. † Minutes of Evidence. Q. 19,994.

which may be easily abused, we ought always to assume that it will be abused, and although it is possible that great precautions will be taken at first, those precautions are likely to be relaxed in time."*

Mill thought it was the duty of Government to put down all diseases, but he saw "some degree of objection to anything special being done by the Government distinguishing between this and other diseases in that respect."

Applegarth asked: "You conceive it to be the duty of the State to deal with boys and girls up to the age of 16.‡ May I ask whether you consider it to be the duty of the State to insist that children should be sent to school up to that age?"

Mill answered: "I cannot pretend to say exactly up to what age. I do think the State has a right, and is bound, whenever circumstances admit, to insist on all children who are born into a community receiving education up to a certain point, and also to give facilities for educating them still higher."

Applegarth's questions and Mill's replies continued as follows:—

"And I suppose you consider that if the State did its duty in that respect we should have, in addition to a better educated people, a higher

^{*} Minutes of Evidence, Q. 19,995,

⁺ Ibid. Q. 20.026.

[†] Mill had said: "Up to 17 or 18; up to the age when what is commonly called education is ordinarily finished." (Minutes of Evidence. Q. 20,065.)

standard of morality amongst the people?—That is one of the greatest reasons for desiring it.

"And therefore we should probably have less prostitution?—I should think so.

"Is it your opinion that sending children to work at a young age, instead of to school, leads to immoral practices, and ultimately to prostitution?—I should think it extremely probable from what I have heard and read. I have no knowledge on the subject."*

Asked by Applegarth whether he thought the tendency of the Acts was to do moral injury, Mill replied: "I do think so because I hardly think it possible for thoughtless people not to infer, when special precautions are taken to make a course which is generally considered worthy of disapprobation safer than it would naturally be, that it cannot be considered very bad by law, and, possibly, may be considered as either not bad at all, or, at any rate, a necessary evil." †

After much evidence had been heard from military and naval officers, the police and medical men, Applegarth suggested that the Commission should hear some of the more intelligent women, whom the inquiry concerned. Three times the proceedings were stopped to discuss the proposition, and at length a sub-commission was appointed to visit some of the military hospitals.

Mr. Applegarth was on the sub-commission, and he tells how, after a perfunctory walk through

Minutes of Evidence. Q. 20,091 to 20,094.
 † Ibid. Q. 20,101.

one of the hospitals at Aldershot, his colleagues were leaving for lunch when he turned back.

- "Where are you going?" he was asked.
- "I am going back."
- "Why?"

"Because," he answered, "I left behind all I came to get—information."

He went back to one of the wards, and, sitting by the bedsides of some of the women, heard some of their own stories.

He also visited some of the haunts of vice provided by the military authorities under the Act. "I sought for truth in places where some persons would, perhaps, fear to go," he told a Sheffield audience on July 24th, 1871. "I went into the protected districts, and night and day did I seek to ascertain whether all the statements I had heard against the Acts were really true, or were exaggerated. In some instances I found exaggeration, but I also found what the Royal Commission did not find-many cases where the police had exceeded their duty-cases where respectable women had been stopped by the police, and had been insulted" by being compelled to undergo the indignity which the authorities had power to inflict.*

The close of the inquiry found Applegarth a convinced Repealer. Mrs. Butler has recorded how, during the hearing of her evidence, all the Commissioners excepting Sir Walter James, Mundella, and Peter Rylands, were hostile to

Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, July 25th, 1871.

her.* Questions which Applegarth put, in his desire to get at the facts, led Mrs. Butler to believe that he was one of those opposed to her cause, a misapprenhension which was dispelled later on.

After the close of the Commission, Applegarth met the women's leader at an "At Home" given by Mrs. Frederick Pennington, and of these women, Mrs. Duncan Maclaren and others who worked with them, he wrote in 1898:—

"After my intercourse with them I became more than ever convinced that it was not only unjust, but grossly impertinent for man to deny woman rights which he claimed for himself, while exacting from her duties and pleasures without which life would not be worth living. With agitators such as these I could have spent the rest of my life. I recently read that Mrs. Butler, though her head is covered with silvery grey and her body bent with the weight of years, is still engaged in driving home the lesson contained in the words, 'Let he who is without sin among you cast the first stone.' This is a lesson which all men should lay to heart: for my part, I am not aware that I have ever been accused of throwing stones."†

The Report of the Commission was anything but conclusive. Mundella told the House of Commons, on August 14th, 1871, that, as a whole, the Report "does not amount to a Report, for it

^{• &}quot;Josephine Butler: an Autobiographical Memoir."

[†] Hotspur Club Paper.

is not consistent with itself, and any member of the House who expects to find in it a solution to this question will meet with much embarrassment." Yet, at the same time, Mundella said: "I cannot state to the House the revolting evidence brought before the Commission as to the demoralising effects of these Acts."

The Acts were not fully repealed until 1886. During the sgitation following the sitting of the Commission Applegarth made public statements as to the peril of working women under such legislation. His statements led to correspondence with Captain Harris, the Assistant-Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, and to him Applegarth eventually forwarded a detailed statement of his charges and asked for a reply. But no reply was received; so the whole of the correspondence was printed and circulated broadcast by the Repealers.

Mr. Applegarth's experience in this movement led him to see the danger of placing too much power in the hands of the police. He is opposed to the powers of arrest given to the police under the recent "White Slave" Act. Moreover, his association with the secretary of the London Rescue Society confirmed him in the view he still holds: that the problem involved is mainly an economic one, and must be treated as such.

CHAPTER XIII.

1870-1878.

THE FIGHT FOR FREE BRIDGES.

There is always work, and tools to work withal, for those who will.

-Lowell.

ROBERT APPLEGARTH was one of the earliest Labour representatives on a public body, for, in the 'sixties, he was a member of the Lambeth Vestry. To the Vestry came frequent complaints of the burden of the toll on Waterloo bridge. To go to and from their work, thousands of workers had to cross the bridge, and, doing so, pay the toll—only a halfpenny, but it meant a tax of sixpence a week. The complaint about the toll was an old one. Forty years before an organisation had been formed for the purpose of freeing the bridges; but it had gone the way of all flesh with its work unaccomplished.

Applegarth knew the value of sixpence in a working-class home. He saw the toll as an unjust tax upon the poor; and in the autumn of 1870 he took action. Gathering a few sympathisers round

him, he called a public meeting, and at the Coburg Arms, Webber Street, Southwark, the gathering was held. Applegarth was unanimously voted to the chair, and before the meeting closed had been elected secretary of a committee which had for its object the abolition of the toll on Waterloo bridge. That was the beginning.

Besides Waterloo bridge, nine others—Lambeth, Vauxhall, Chelsea, Albert and Battersea, Wandsworth, Putney, Hammeramith, and Charing Cross and Cannon Street foot bridges—were all subject to tolls.* About the time that Applegarth's committee was formed, a committee came into being with the object of freeing Chelsea bridge, and these committees developed into the Metropolitan Free Bridges Association, of which Applegarth and John Edwards were joint honorary secretaries and Mr. (later Sir) F. H. Fowler, the Lambeth representative on the Metropolitan Board of Works, the chairman.

Before this time, however, Applegarth had been very active. He had a man standing at Waterloo station day after day gathering signatures to a petition in favour of freeing Waterloo bridge and, later, in October, 1870, he was spokesman of a deputation which waited on Mr. McArthur, the member for Lambeth, and presented the petition. Mr. McArthur's sympathies were enlisted and afterwards he rendered the movement valuable help in Parliament.

Many were the meetings Applegarth addressed in

Chelsea bridge was a Government bridge.

the districts up and down the river, where people and property suffered from the tolls. With the aid of a big map, he showed how working men and women were unable to escape the tax as they went to and from their daily labour. At these meetings he always tried to get some influential local man to preside in order to give weight to the movement, for the bodies which would ultimately have to abolish the tolls were innocent of Labour representatives, and friends inside them were essential to the success of the movement.

We find a good example of Applegarth's appeal in a speech he made at one of the earliest meetings, at the Coburg Arms. He was, as ever, full of hope for success, for he early grasped the principle that in agitation the way to success is to hearten one's friends and frighten the enemy.

"I venture to say that it only requires a few earnest men to get up an agitation in a husiness-like manner to secure the object we have in view. There are more views than one from which this question ought to be considered. The property in and about the locality is at present at a disadvantage from the impost to traffic by the bridge, and trade is impelled to other localities which there is no difficulty in reaching. Tolls in this age are very objectionable and are relics of monopoly. The toll may appear to be small, yet to the workman of small earnings it is oppressive. To satisfy myself of the truth of what I have heard I have, on many occasions, gone upon Waterloo bridge and seen workmen, who live on

one side of the bridge and work on the other, in order to save a halfpenny a day, meet their wives and daughters at the bridge gate and receive from them their dinners. Workmen's earnings are limited enough without the men being taxed in order to get to work. Moreover, so far as I have been able to ascertain, Waterloo bridge is not a very profitable investment for the shareholders, who would gladly sell out if a just price were offered by the Government or the Board of Works with such assistance as the ratepayers of the locality were disposed to offer."*

From 1873 to 1875, there were many deputations from the Association to the Metropolitan Board of Works, urging that the Board should cooperate in the movement, and by March, 1876, a public opinion had been created which led the Government to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the question. Before this committee Applegarth gave evidence. Its report was issued in the following June and the first recommendation was: "That it is most desirable in the public interest, and especially in the interests of the labouring classes of the Metropolis that the remaining toll bridges should be made free." The Committee had endorsed the view of the Association. Its Report recommended that the Board of Works should be the authority for freeing the bridges, and the Board accepted the Committee's view.

In the same year Mr. McArthur introduced

South London Press, October 3rd, 1878.

the Toll Bridges (River Thames) Bill, a measure prepared under the auspices of the Free Bridges Association to meet the object of that organisation. It was backed by Sir James Clarke Lawrence, Sir Henry Peek, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Sir Charles Russell, and Mr. Forsyth. The Bill passed through the Committee and was reported to the House, but opposition led to its being dropped. The following session, however, the Metropolitan Board brought in a Bill pased on the settlement which Mr. McArthur and Mr. Biyth, the Parliamentary Agent of the Association, had negotiated with the representatives of Surrey and Middlesex, under which both counties were to keep the bridges in repair and receive a modest contribution towards the cost from the Metropolitan Board. The Bill became an Act in July, 1877, and it empowered the Metropolitan Board to borrow £1,500,000 for the purpose of buying out the bridge companies.

On Saturday, October 8th, 1878, the company controlling Waterloo bridge gave up the keys—and for them eventually received £98,540. Charing Cross foot-bridge was freed the same day, and it was not long before the remaining tolls were also swept away.

Robert Applegarth's final work in this movement was to successfully plead that there should be pensions for the old toll collectors, many of whom had been in the company's service for a great many years.

CHAPTER XIV.

1871---1910.

To SAVE LIFE.

In the early 'seventies, the lot of a man who had been a Trade Union official for ten years and then relinquished the position was not enviable. He was unfitted to go back to his trade after such a long period away from it, and Governments had not then acquired the modern habit of giving ex-Labour leaders positions in the Civil Service. Moreover, there was not then the demand for paid lecturers that there is to-day, nor anything like so great a demand for capable organisers and administrators in organisations devoted to social work. It was in such an unenviable position that Robert Applegarth found himself in June, 1871. after he had resigned his position as General Secretary of the Carpenters and Joiners. And dependent on him was a young and motherless family of five.

Mundella said a position could be found for him at the Board of Trade, but he refused to consider the suggestion. He wanted more freedom than such a position was likely to give; and he wished to retain his membership of his Trade Union. Had he accepted Mundella's offer he would have had the dubious distinction of being the first man to step from leadership in the Labour movement to a position under the Government. For a short time he was private secretary to Edward Jenkins, at one time member for Dundee and also the author of "Ginx's Baby." Jenkins read the manuscript of "Ginx's Baby." to Applegarth, and so real to him was his own creation that he wept as he read. But Jenkins began to lean to Toryism, and Applegarth and he parted company.

It was following this that Applegarth was introduced to Auguste Denayrouze who, with his brother Louis, in Paris, had been perfecting apparatus with which men could live and work in poisonous atmospheres. The brothers Denayrouze wanted an English representative, and Applegarth was strongly recommended to them. His protests that he was a carpenter and neither a mining nor submarine engineer were overborne; he went to France for a few months; studied the apparatus; saw demonstrations of its use, and himself descended a mine at Saarbruck wearing the new invention; and then he returned to England as the representative of Denayrouze and Co.

Thus, he entered upon a stage in his career which demanded great physical courage and commercial capacity; and the Frenchmen could scarcely have chosen a better man to push their invention than Robert Applegarth, who was so

keenly alive to the danger of the miners' and other working-men's callings and, as we have seen, so anxious to minimise that danger.

The apparatus was of two kinds. With one, the operator carried with him a supply of compressed air; with the other air was pumped to him through a tube. For many years Applegarth demonstrated in various parts of England, and in various ways, the utility of the invention for rescue work in poisonous atmospheres, and when the diving apparatus was developed he superintended much important work.

One of the earliest experiments was in November, 1873. An explosion had occurred at the Barley Brook Colliery, Wigan, and a fortnight later Mr. Applegarth and M. Guichard, the representative of the inventor, went down to Wigan to demonstrate the value of the aerophore, as the apparatus was called. Guichard was a young man who had won scientific honours at Paris and had been awarded the cross of the Legion of Honour for gallantry during the siege of that city.

The experiment took place in a small hut close to the pit. Applegarth and his colleague were quite prepared to enter the mine, but the danger being very great, they were prevented from doing so. The hut had been filled by poisonous sulphurous fumes by the burning of a quantity of charcoal and sulphur. The crowd of onlookers, colliery managers, and officials, miners and their wives, pressed to the little window of the hut to

see the deadly fumes with which it was filled and there was much suppressed excitement at the thought of what was to come; a man deliberately entering deadly gas such as had suddenly swept away bread-winners of the neighbourhood from time to time.

Applegarth was the first to enter the hut, taking with him an unfortunate kitten, and with the tube attached to his breathing apparatus trailing through a hole in the door just large enough to admit of its passage. Carpenters' tools had been placed in the hut, together with a rough plank, and with them Applegarth had undertaken to make a box, complete with hinges and fastening. He was soon heard hard at work and the crowd surged round the window to get a sight of him. "The pitmen, of course," it was written, "succeeded best in this enterprise, but some extraordinary women, who showed the strength, and wore the garb, of men, were in the next order of merit."* Some were of opinion that Applegarth was making a coffin for himself; but others declared the box would be "a coffin for t' cat." The latter were right. After twenty-two minutes the door was opened and the operator walked out with the box, none the worse. The kitten had crawled near the door and the little air that leaked in had kept it just alive. It died in a few moments on the grass outside.

M. Guichard then donned the apparatus and ran about the field and over obstacles to show the

[.] Wigan Examiner, December 13th, 1878.

freedom of movement which it allowed, and then William Pickard, the Miners' Agent for the district, also ventured into the fumes and on coming out ran a short distance, picked up two lads, and returned at a considerable speed, to show that his physical powers had not been impaired by the ordeal.

In February, the following year, Applegarth was engaged in work of a particularly hazardous nature, which resulted in a horrible experience. A fire had occurred in one of the workings of the Meadow Pit at Cwm Avon, South Wales, and the foul air had prevented exploring parties from getting sufficiently near to turn water on to the flames or see to what extent the fire was still burning. At length it was decided that there should be no further attempt. Then it was that Applegarth was wired for. With an assistant, he immediately set off for Cwm Avon. Arrived at the pit, "all that was possible to be done by way of describing the great risk and dangers to be encountered was done to deter Mr. Applegarth from descending the shaft."*

There was no plan of the mine, but a rough indication of its nature was drawn on the ground with a stick. Applegarth gave his signalling code and was told the corner of the cage at which the signal could be found. "With many an anxious look from the spectators, and words of caution and advice from the scientific and practical men who thronged the pit bank," Applegarth

Sheffield and Rotherham Independent. January 13th, 1874.

entered the cage and the cage disappeared from view. He took with him the Denayrouze lamp, having first, by an experiment above ground, convinced the experts and officials that the light would not blow up the pit-head.

He descended to the bottom of the mine, the cage sinking into water that came up to his knees and, having reconnoitred sufficiently to convince himself that the fire was still burning, and of its extent, he made his way back to the cage. What followed is best described in his own words. "I reached for the signal at the corner where I was told it was. It was not there. I went to the next corner, but there was still no signal. Then I felt beads of perspiration on my forehead like hot water, though the cold water was streaming from my oilskin coat. I tried the other corner and there was still no signal. Then it was that I felt I should never reach the top alive. A change came over me; yet I did not know what it was. I remember how, at last, I tried the last corner and found the signal; how I forced it down, heard no bell and felt that the wire was slack, and then how I threw the whole weight of my body on the lever and presently heard the cage ascending. I was drawn up, but my half-hour's supply of air gave out just before I resched the top. I was almost done."

Then he goes on to tell of how his assistant began to take off the apparatus; how, when his man removed the headgear he started back with a frightened look; and how, when asked, "What's up?" he burst out, "Governor, your hair's gone grey!" And so it had. Applegarth's coal-black hair was whitened by the awful experience. But no one at Cwm Avon ever knew. The apparatus was not at fault and for the sake of its reputation the secret was well kept, for no one had seen Applegarth, before the descent, without his large close-fitting cap.*

One of the demonstrations of a different kind was at Barclay and Perkins' brewery in January, 1875. Applegarth descended to the bottom of a vat full of poisonous gases and from the bottom carried on a conversation through the speaking-tube attached to his apparatus, and showed how a person who had become unconscious could be rescued.

With the diving apparatus he assisted in the examination of Daunt's Rock, which it was hoped to remove—a hope not realised—from the entrance to Cork Harbour, and in September, 1875, after the "Iron Duke" had rammed the "Vanguard" in the Irish Channel, the latter going to the bottom, he was requested by the Admiralty to take a staff of divers to assist in the examination of the wreck. In conjunction with Commander Batt, from Devonport Dockyard, Applegarth superintended an examination of the sunken vessel, as a result of which both were of opinion that the "Vanguard" would never be raised.

The Colliery Manager offered Applegarth £20, in addition to ordering a couple of sets of the apparatus. He refused it at first, saying he was well paid for his work. Under great pressure, however, he took the money; but, to-day, the books of the firm show that it was credited to their account.

And she never was. In her side was a hole 15 feet by 2 feet.

At times Applegarth himself went under water. One such occasion was when the "Admiralta Cochrane," a ship ordered by the Chilian Government, ran on a sandbank when on a trial trip down The Chilian authorities insisted the Humber. that the bottom of the vessel should be examined before they would accept her, and Applegarth and another diver went down, one on each side. They found the ship undamaged, and shortly after she sailed for abroad. He also examined a vesselthe "Shamrock"—which sank off Spurn Point, and found that it was impossible to raise her, though the bulk of the most valuable property which could be disconnected from the vessel was recovered.

One of the wonders of the Alexandra Palace, in 1875, was the diving pavilion of Applegarth's firm, and there Applegarth was in charge of many important demonstrations.

Captain Singer, the President of the Admiralty Torpedo Committee, and other officers of the Committee, visited the pavilion and watched a lengthy trial of the apparatus which was conducted under Applegarth's direction. "It was shown that a man working with these appliances could live and work under water without any communication or connection with the surface for two hours; that he could move about in any direction and raise or lower himself as he pleased; that he could guide himself by the aid of a compass

which he could read by the light of a lamp which he could light or extinguish at pleasure; and that with these appliances he could either remove torpedoes which the enemy had placed, or arrange others for the destruction of the enemy.* A feature of the occasion was the lighting of the submarine lamp under water, an improvement of the invention which was Applegarth's own work. In 1877 a similar pavilion was run at the Crystal Palace, and for many subsequent seasons.

Applegarth never lost sight of the social value of his employment. When the Royal Commission on Labour was sitting, in 1892, he wrote to Mundella, after evidence had been given of work in dangerous trades, that "most of the sacrifice of health and life is easily preventable. You have seen me face the most deadly smoke and gas that Captain Shaw† could create, and live and work in the midst of them with perfect ease and freedom; since then I am thankful to know I have prevented a vast amount of human suffering. I should be glad to have ten minutes before the Committee to show them, and explain to them, how this dangerous work can be done with absolute safety." The Commission, however, had only been appointed to inquire into the actual conditions of labour, so Applegarth's proposed evidence was held to be beyond its province. Applegarth and Mundella talked over the matter, and Mundella promised to do what he could to

[•] Morning Post, July 26th, 1875.

t The then Chief of the Metropolitan Fire Brigades.

further protection for workmen in the direction indicated by Applegarth.

So, when the Factory and Workshop Bill of 1895 was in Committee, we find Applegarth urging Mundella to try to get the insertion of a clause compelling the notification of inspectors when workmen were about to enter dangerous atmospheres and giving inspectors power to order the use of an appliance for the protection of the men or, if no appliance were available, giving them power to order that a powerful current of pure air should be forced through the dangerous atmosphere while men were engaged in it. In his letter to Mundella he said: "As for a penalty for non-compliance, I had better leave that to you. I might be too severe."

It was in July, 1895, that five men in the employ of the East Ham Council were suffocated it a sewer. One man collapsed while working at the bottom, and the four others met with a similar fate, one after another, while attempting rescue. Within 18 hours Applegarth, protected by his apparatus, was standing on the grating from which these men had fallen to their death.

After the event the Council obtained the apparatus, and the correspondence between the engineer and Applegarth reveals how strong the latter felt on preventable loss of life. One of the men had objected to use the apparatus. Applegarth could understand that; it was not pleasant to work with a piece of rubber between the teeth; but, nevertheless, the man who would not protect

himself should be made to do so; self-protection should be made a condition of employment in all dangerous occupations where safety appliances were provided.

The widow of one of the five dead men had to take her claim to the High Court before she obtained compensation—a fund was raised for legal assistance—and in the High Court, before the late Lord Russell, Applegarth gave evidence, being called for the first time in connection with the case. He refused to he drawn into dilating upon his own apparatus; he was not there to advertise it; but he pointed out that if a rope had been attached to the man who descended first, as it was attached to the bucket he took with him, when he collapsed he could have been hauled up, and the lives of all five saved. Most labourers knew how to knot a rope safely.

The widow won, obtaining the full amount of compensation under the Act and all costs.

Fifteen years later he was still eager to work for the safety of human life. In June, 1910, the late Mr. Enoch Edwards moved, in the House of Commons, a resolution urging that the law relating to mines should be more vigorously applied; that the staff of inspectors should be augmented; and that rescue and experimental stations, with suitable appliances, should be set up in mining areas. The then Home Secretary (Mr. Winston Churchill), replying on the debate, while agreeing as to the necessity for taking all possible precautions, stated that appliances with

which men could work in dangerous atmospheres were in a "very experimental stage," a pronouncement which, naturally enough, made strange reading for Robert Applegarth.

He wrote to Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., of the Northumberland Miners, as follows:—

"Will you kindly speak to Enoch Edwards. He introduced the resolution and spoke of it in a manner that delighted me, as did also Brace, Twist, Harvey, and Abraham; and I want you to make an arrangement for Edwards to meet me. I wish to show him that there is not the slightest necessity why legislation for the protection of the lives of the miners should be delayed a single hour for the reasons stated by Mr. Churchill about the rescue apparatus being in a very experimental stage.' This is not true. Over 30 years ago, I, personally, used rescue apparatus of a thoroughly practical kind: risked my life in it over and over again. In the Meadow Pit, at Cwm Avon, in South Wales, in 1874, I left a head of hair as black as my boots and came up in halfan-hour with it the colour that you last saw it. I found the fire was still in existence from which they feared an explosion, and on my report they flooded the mine. The experimental work has been done years ago, but young men don't know it. If, instead of talking about rescue appliances being in a very experimental stage, they would only read The Times-and other London papers-The Manchester Guardian-and other country papers-between the years 1870 and 1890, they



would find descriptions of the uses to which, as I gave practical evidence, this apparatus could be put, and they could also see in *The Illustrated London News* and *The Colliery Guardian* of those dates, illustrations of the apparatus itself.

"The point I want to impress upon Edwards is that science and inventive genius have long since done their work, and there needs not an hour of delay for legislation on that account.

"No matter what Act may be passed, so far as rescue apparatus is concerned, or what money may be spent upon it, it will be absolutely useless without it is placed at every point where it is likely to be required, and it must be frequently inspected and used under conditions which can be created as near as possible to those conditions under which explorers have to work when these sad catastrophes happen; and it must be used and inspected by a staff of practical miners who must be trained in its examination and use, exactly as firemen and lifeboat-men are trained to use the appliances placed in their hands. Without this the perishable parts would, in time, become useless, and the apparatus, if defective when required, would only add to the disaster if nsed.

"You may judge by what I have written how I feel on the matter, and especially when I tell you that, 10 years before you entered Parliament, I spoke at a great demonstration of South Yorkshire miners and pointed out their wrongs and suggested remedies.

"At Leeds, on Saturday night last, at our own Jubilee meeting I said the best I could think of to help on what Enoch Edwards spoke so well about on Thursday last, and when I had done with the miners I went bald-headed for the half-time system, which I hope to see dead and buried before I say 'good-bye.'"

And he goes on hoping and working for the realisation of his hopes.

CHAPTER XV.

1876-1907.

PIONEERING ELECTRIC LIGHTING.

Let the great world spin for ever down the ringing grooves of change.

—Tennyson.

THE first electric light, which was found to be of practical value for public lighting, was introduced into England by Robert Applegarth. It was popularly known as "Jablochkoff's candle." Paul Jablochkoff was a Russian and, in the 'seventies, he was working on his light in the laboratory of the brothers Denayrouze in Paris, where he attained greater perfection than had any previous inventor. On September 11, 1876, Applegarth took out the English patent, under Power of Attorney.

The strong points of Jahlochkoff's invention—the features which placed it above all others—were greater simplicity than had hitherto been attained—and, consequently, greater cheapness—and the power to produce more than one light from one source. The light was free from the com-

plicated mechanism which had characterised previous lights, and did not require such constant attention. To obtain more than one light from a single source of electricity was no new thing. Kosloff, for example, exhibited his sub-divided light in London in 1874—but Jablochkoff was the first to get beyond the experimental stage.

Mr. Applegarth superintended the first public trial of this light in England, which took place at the West India Docks on June 15th, 1877. Four big lamps were set up in an immense marquee, and the current for them was generated by a portable eight-horse-power engine, estimated to be working at five horse-power. The carbon "candles" in the lamps burned for one hour, but four candles were placed in the globes, and as each candle was consumed another was switched on.

The exhibition excited the keenest interest and, to quote from a Press account, "everyone was charmed with the power and softness and the altogether agreeable character of the illumination. It more nearly resembled the daylight than any other form of artificial lighting, and it interfered much less with the ordinary hues of objects than gas. It was easy to read small print in any part of the yard, and so well was the illuminant diffused that there was no temptation to draw nearer the lamp in order to read or otherwise test the luminous power of the light."*

Besides the lights in the marquee, two were placed outside the windows of the top storey of

[·] Western Times, June 17th, 1877,

a warehouse. Reflectors were placed behind them and they were viewed through ground glass. The lights, however, were almost too brilliant to gaze at steadily and many of the company viewed them through a pin-hole in a card. A lamp was also let into the hold of a three-masted vessel—the "Asterope"—with the result that "scores of men could work as in daylight," while, on deck, one lamp "finely lighted the whole ship."*

It was Jablochkoff's light which was the first electric illuminant used on the Thames Embankment. But, before the lighting of the Embankment, Applegarth had caused to be brought to England a light which was to supersede Jablochkoff's. It was written, in 1878, that "to M. Rapieff's genius, Mr. Reed's enterprise, and Mr. Applegarth's usual perception of the best thing, we are indebted for the development of the electric light of the future." † Applegarth brought Rapieff's light to the notice of Mr. late Sir) E. J. Reed and accompanied that gentleman to Paris, with the result that Rapieff -another Russian-and his staff, were brought to England. Rapieff's light was simpler and cheaper than Jablochkoff's, and he had carried the principle of dividing the light a step further. Lights obtained from one source could be lit or extinguished independently of one another, and much greater continuity was assured. With this light. Mr. Applegarth lighted the machine room of The Times, which was the first newspaper office

[·] Western Times, June 17th, 1877.

[†] Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, October 24th. 1878.

in the Kingdom to adopt electricity for lighting purposes.

There were many visitors from time to time to see the lights and watch with interest how they could be lit and switched off one by one. On one occasion, when a party of distinguished people were being shown the light, it was left to a Scotsman, a worthy Lord Provost, to all-unconsciously provide the humour. Applegarth took the party to the switch and gave the order to his lieutenant Lineff, to turn on the lights. Up they went and the Lord Provost gazed in astonishment. "Why, Mr. Ayplegairth," he said, "the mon didna tak a mitch to light it!"

On another occasion, Professor Tyndall was one of a party which came to see it. The party was kept waiting, owing to a hitch in the lighting apparatus, and Applegarth apologised and explained that he wished the visitors to see the invention at its best. Tyndall waved the apology aside with the remark: "I never give an elementary lesson without first rehearing it, so that if there is failure I alone may witness that failure."*

Lineff did something towards developing the system of motor traction by an underground cable. About this time, he was experimenting on about 100 yards of ground in the tramway works at Chiswick, after having been refused permission by the Hammersmith Vestry to experiment on the highway, on the grounds that

Another of Mr. Applegarth's undertakings was the lighting of the Raphael Gallery at the Sonth Kensington Museum.

a groove in the road would prove a danger to traffic!

When lighting The Times office, Applegarth employed a Russian workman of the name of Scheriff. One day Scheriff came to him and said he must return to Russia; duty called him; his conscience would not The man refused to give any him stav. explanation for wishing to leave-and left. Some time afterwards, Applegarth saw, in an illustrated paper, the portrait of a man who had attempted to blow up the railway at Moscow, with the object of wrecking a train in which the Czar was travelling. It was Scheriff. He was a member of the "People's Will" Party, and his deed lives as one of the many terrible pages in the history of the Russian people's struggle.

During this period, football matches played by electric light attained quite a vogue. The first was played on the Bramall Lane ground at Sheffield, on October 14th, 1878, between teams selected from the leading players of the Sheffield Football Association. Wooden staging, ten yards high, was erected at each side of each goal and the electric lamps and reflectors were fitted on top. Four steady streams of clear, soft light were poured over the ground, and the delighted spectators had an admirable view of the game. The lights were equal to 8,000 standard candles. Twelve thousand people poured through the turnstiles, but it was estimated that 30,000-an enormous football crowd at that time-watched the game from various points of vantage.

game was played by the light of electricity at Glasgow, and another was organised at Chorley. There, however, the light failed; it was thought, owing to the dampness causing the current to escape from the wires into the ground.

As a result of the development of the light, gas shares came tumbling down, and there was much wailing at the meetings of the companies which, having a monopoly, paid fat dividends. Cheap electric light would mean cutting down the dividends; so the gas companies divided their attention between pouring scorn on the possibility of the new light ever being widely used and discussing whether they themselves should obtain powers to trade in electric light!

The question was largely one of cost, and cost depended much on the extent to which the current could be divided. The system at The Times office, though very far from perfect, and requiring a good deal of attention, was a practical example of what could be done in this direction; indeed The Morning Advertiser, in a leading article, stated that "Mr. Applegarth's aystem shows conclusively that he mastered the secret of dividing the current before Mr. Edison did so."* True it was that the system at The Times office was in operation before Edison made his announcement to the world in the middle of September, 1878, and Applegarth, who had the management of the details of Rapieff's invention, had contributed, not inconsiderably, to bring it to such a state of efficiency. When Edison, however,

October 28th, 1878.

announced that he could divide the current infinitely the panic grew. Nevertheless, there were sceptics in high places. At the half-yearly meeting of the Crystal Palace District Gas Com-Sir Erasmus Wilson, the Chairman, "thought he might say without fear of contradiction that, when the Paris Exhibition closed, the electric light would close with it ";* and at a meeting of the Society of Arts Mr. (the late Sir) W. H. Preece, the Chief Electrician of the Post Office, described Edison as an "American of Americans," and, while admitting that the man was "clever," expressed the belief that he had "stumbled across a tremendous mare's nest." Mr. Preece stated that Edison had taken out no fewer than 269 patents and that only three were workable, t

The "poor shareholder" and the widow and orphan did duty then, as now. Wrote The Saturday Review: "One incidental result of the suggested introduction of the electric light will be widespread ruin and distress. Although newspaper writers frequently denounce gas companies as if they were gigantic capitalists, far removed from human sympathy, their constituents are numerous, personally insignificant, and, in too many cases, needy. The immediate substitution of electricity for gas, though it would certainly take place if Mr. Edison's discovery proves to be authentic and complete, will be to one class of the community as severe a disaster as the failure of

[•] The Metropolitan, September 21st, 1878.

[†] Standard, December 5th, 1878.

the Glasgow Bank to another. Hundreds of families will be instantly reduced from competence to want, while other investors will lose a more or less considerable portion of their income."*

On the other hand, the new light met with a good deal of encouragement. The Daily Telegraph touched on one aspect of its value which the younger generation is apt to overlook. "The time will surely come," said this journal, "when it will be hard to believe that audiences were content to breathe, hour after hour, a foul and hurtful compound which hundreds of gas jets had deprived of its life-giving oxygen, leaving nothing but vitiated vapour in its place. A light which does not consume the vital air, or distribute vapour, but would help to make the evening's amusement bear the morning's reflection without a headache would be held as a general benefaction."

The advertisement given the light by the gas companies inspired a *Punch* cartoonist to liken the companies to "silly birds" which, attracted by the brilliance of the lighthouse lamp, dashed themselves to pieces against it. Mr. Punch wrote some forcible but consoling lines to the companies:—

Cease, fools, your brainless heads to smite Against an improvement of too much might To be stayed by fear of your hopeless fight, There's room for all; and this Edison Light, With its lightning flash, bringing day into night, Will prove a blessing and not a blight.

[•] Globe, October 19th, 1878, quoting the Review. † October 10th, 1878.

The shoe may pinch, as shoes will, when tight,
But Panic is madness,—'tis true as trite;
A Hundred Millions is a sight
Too much to be gulped in a Stock Exchange bite:
Then cease bewailing your piteous plight,
Hold to your Gas Shares tough and tight
And you'll find that things will work themselves right,
Nor knock out your brains on the Edison Light.

Those with whom Mr. Applegarth was associated made an offer to Edison to work his invention, in conjunction with Rapieff's. The offer was made by cable at a cost of £52. The American replied in one word, "No."

In 1880, Applegarth took over the English business and became head of it. And on April 5th, 1886, this man who had blacked loots at the age of ten; who had no schooling as a child; who picked up the trade of a joiner as best he could; who, in short, through all his childhood and young manhood, had had everything against him was elected a member of the Institute of Electrical Engineers. He was proposed for membership by Sir W. H. Preece, and the proposal was seconded by Mons. Despointes, the manager of the Submarine Telegraph Company. † His capacity for mechanical science was indeed wonderful. We have already seen how he improved the submarine lamp by enabling the diver to light it under water, but, in addition to that, he invented and patented a smoke-preventer and an improved "Simplex" drill, both of which he successfully worked commercially.

October 28th, 1878.

[†] He was, at this time, also a member of the London Chamber of Commerce.

It was Mr. Applegarth who, in 1880, suggested to the Crystal Palace Company that they should hold an Electrical Exhibition at the Palace.* The Company adopted the idea and appointed him assistant engineer. The exhibition was held the following year and was a complete success. Applegarth conducted Mr. Gladstone round it. and the Liberal leader recalled the letter he had written, in reference to Mundella's election, in 1868, and speaking of his appointment of Mundella as Minister of Education, he remarked: "That was one of my most genial appointments."

At the close of the exhibition, the company's manager, Major Flood Page, wrote of it to Mr. Applegarth: "I cannot help reflecting on the great success we have had and which looked so uncertain when you first proposed to me that we should endeavour to have such an exhibition, and how little we thought it would be possible to beat the Paris Exhibition in every point of view."

[&]quot;It may be noted that, in 1878, Mr. Applegarth saw the "Frigorifique" leave Rouen fitted with Tellier's refrigerating apparatus. This was the first steamer to take a cargo of freah meat though the tropics. She sailed to the River Piste, and there shipped a cargo of meat. The meat, however, had to be thrown overboard. The system of freezing was a chemical one, and Tellier, who was the originator of the science of cold storage, afterwards perfected it. Ris ideas ted Paul Gliflard to invent a machine for freezing by compressed air, and this Mr. Applegarth brought to the notice of the late Sir E. J. Reed. Together they went to Paris and Reed bought the machine and brought it to England in 1878, to the works of Mesars. J. and E. Hail, Ltd., at Dartford. It was the first refrigerating apparatus brought to this country. The enormous influence of the discovery of cold storage may be judged from the fact that, in 1910, the imports of meat, dead and alive, into the United Kingdom, were valued at £48,378,947 and the imports of butter, cheese, and eggs at £24,493,450, £8,312,217, and £6,396,145, respectively. Great fortness have been accumulated as a result of the system; but Tellier, tha original inventor, died in Paris quite recently, in great poverty.

† Hotspur Club Paper.

t Hotspur Club Paper.

Applegarth was engineer for exhibitions in 1891 and 1892, and in 1893 was invited to stand for election to a seat on the Board. He received a great many letters from eminent professional and commercial men testifying to his ability for such a position.

His old friend, Mr. Frederic Harrison, wrote of his "remarkable ability, energy, sterling good sense and trustworthiness," and his equally old friend. Professor Beesly, of admiration for his character and "eminent practical abilities," and of the good service he would render to the Palace or "any other undertaking to which he might devote his great skill and energy."

But certain people saw fit to run an "Honourable" in opposition to Applegarth, so Applegarth withdrew.

CHAPTER XVI.

1890-1906.

OF Public Rights; a Poultry Farm; a Local Board; and a Trades Council.

We may now take some glimpse of the activities of Robert Applegarth outside his business, during the later years he was engaged in commerce. We have already noted some of his work in the 'seventies; the Barnsley strike, the trouble at the Post Office, the gas stokers' prosecution, and the Wakefield Gaol episode; and we have noticed his continued connection with politics as evidenced by his projected Parliamentary candidatures in the 'eighties, and his endeavours in the 'nineties to use the knowledge he had gained in his business to lessen, by stricter legislation, the risk to the workers' lives.

For Robert Applegarth's association with commerce did not dim his social ideals, lessen his faith in his class or his conviction of the justice of all its struggles for betterment. In earlier years, the roots of those convictions and

ideals had struck deep down. Indeed, there is nothing in his development in which he differs from most men more than in this: that, far from growing more conservative as he grows older, his outlook has widened and his ideals have soared higher. He has not forgotten the accomplishments of the past and he loves to recall the victories of years that have gone; but all past work is, to him, only an inspiration for more and better work now and in the future. The worker may be better off than he was; but what matter? He is very far from being where he should be and might be; so the hand must not be taken from the plough. In that, we have the outlook of Robert Applegarth to-day.

He admires the agitator; and he knows him. What follows is Robert Applegarth on agitators, in 1898:—

"Agitators are often accused of enriching themselves at the expense of their dupes; this charge I know to be as groundless as it is unjust. Those who are elected yearly by the votes of their societies and fixed with heavy responsibilities receive less than is paid to thousands connected with trade and commerce for far less responsible services, and they work much longer hours. The agitator, with no fixed appointment, is much worse off. I speak from an experience extending over 40 years, and an intimate acquaintance with very many of whom I speak, and I know no single instance of a Labour leader having been able to save sufficient to provide for the proverbial rainy

day; but I know of many whose life's savings were insufficient for the wents of those left behind them, and others still living whose declining years are only made bearable by the help of friends: while some have died in abject poverty, and a few have ended their days in the Workhouse. If I were seriously inclined to condemn any part of the policy of the present Labour leaders, it would be for shutting out of their councils, and rejecting the help of, high-minded, disinterested and able men of other classes; such help as cost me some of the best years of my life to secure; but knowing too well their difficulties and responsibilities, I must not condemn them too severely. I hope to live to see this altered. Now, if agitators would only add to their undoubted abilities as organisers and administrators, some knowledge of City sharp practice and Stock Exchange trickery, and generally follow the example of many men of high repute, they would become rich, buy race horses, go on the turf, visit Monte Carlo, keep yachts and hunting studs, and become respectable members of society!"*

Since the Sheffield days, Mr. Applearth has had an unbroken connection with the Co-operative movement. He has never failed to join the Co-operative society of the town or district in which he has been living.

In 1890 he went to live at Epsom. At Epsom there was no Co-operative society; so Robert Applegarth supplied the need. He gathered

[·] Hotspur Club Paper.

sympathisers round him and, in his own house, the Co-operative society now existing at Epsom was formed. And here we may anticipate and note that on a recent visit to Manchester, he went through the works of the Co-operative Wholesale Society at Irlam and Crumpsall; and noted with pride that the working conditions were "a credit to the C.W.S." He also inspected the "Fraternity" before she left for Dublin loaded with food for the victims of the lock-out.

At Epsom, this tremendously all-round man learnt—that is to say, he taught himself—to ride, and became a fearless horseman. A cross-country gallop was a favourite form of exercise. Occasionally, he followed the hounds, and, his horse stumbling in a rabbit-hole, he was, on one occasion, heavily thrown, and broke his collar-bons. Experience on horse-back has led him to say there is nothing so good for keeping one's mind free from business worries as looking between a horse's ears to see where the animal is going.

His riding led to his defending the rights of the public against the attempted encroachments of that select body, the Grand Stand Association. He was riding on the Downs one day, and was asked to pay a guinea in recognition of the rights of the Grand Stand Association. He refused, and said he declined to turn a right into a privilege. He obtained the opinions of Mr. T. T. Bucknill, Q.C. (now Mr. Justice Bucknill), and the late Lord (then Sir Charles) Russell. Mr. Bucknill

had "never heard of such a right" on the part of the Grand Stand Committee, to which the Lord of the Manor leased the Downs. He felt any inhabitant could ride, even on the tan gallop, "by right if he chose," though, as a matter of equity, he might voluntarily contribute something towards the maintenance of the gallop. Sir Charles Russell agreed with Mr. Bucknill, and significantly added: "It seems to me that if the Grand Stand Committee do not take care they will raise many questions about their own use of the Downs which it is to their interest to let sleep." The Grand Stand Association let the matter drop.

That was in 1892, and a little while afterwards Applegarth ran as a candidate for the Local Board and came out top of the poll with 620 votes against 544 for Mr. H. M. Dorling, the secretary of the Grand Stand Association, who was second. A plank in Mr. Applegarth's election address was: "The right of the people to the use of the Downs for healthful exercise, unquestioned by any self-constituted authority."

There were many complaints at Epsom, at the time, of the lax administration of the sanitary laws, and, in his address, Applegarth stated that the best way to safeguard from infection the homes of the well-to-do was to make healthy the homes of the poor.

I once heard him asked whether the homes of the poor were not worth keeping healthy for the sake of the poor themselves, apart from any consideration of the rich.

The old man spoke with vigour. "Of course they are! But I knew I had to rely mainly on well-to-do people for votes and I knew the apathy of those who should have been ready to vote for me. I wanted the position because I felt I could do useful work. I didn't mind getting it in that way. If you argue in the abstract you can trip me up often enough."

Such talk took one's mind back to the days of the Junta, with its capacity for getting what it wanted.

But a time arrived when Mr. Applegarth was told that he had done a fair share in the work of aiding human kind and that his place was that of a looker-on and his rightful portion rest. So, in 1898, he removed to Bexley, in Kent, taking half-an-acre of land with the right to roam over a five-acre field. No sooner was he installed in his little estate than he began resting by clearing out a shallow brook which was obstructed by refuse; and, having discovered that there was a strong spring at the source, he tapped the stream and diverted it through his garden. Then he constructed a lock at the entrance and exit, made a brook and spanned it with a rustic bridge. Having made matters ship-shape, he erected an up-to-date poultry-house and took up poultryfarming. He obtained the best system of incubators, but it did not satisfy him. To draw the thermometer out of the egg-drawer to see the temperature, was to lower the temperature; so Robert Applegarth constructed an arrangement whereby the temperature could be seen with the drawer closed. But another difficulty presented itself: keeping the lamp giving out a uniform heat. He surmounted the difficulty by inventing a lamp of his own; an ingenious thing which completely solved the problem.

The breed of poultry known as Favorelles was brought to England by Mr. Applegarth, who visited the village in France from which the birds take their name and brought back some fine specimens. The Favorelle Club was formed to encourage the breed and Mr. Applegarth was appointed chairman. In 1899, he took first prize for Favorelles at the Crystal Palace show, had one bird "very highly commended" and three "highly commended." The following year he had two "very highly commended" and three "highly commended." Thus, with his poultry-farm, as with everything else he touched, Robert Applegarth gave to the work the best that was in him.

But the farm required a great deal of attention and pleasant Bexley could not deafen the ear of Robert Applegarth to the cry of the alum child and the sweated worker, nor to the ceaseless murmurings of Labour, groaning beneath its burden. On the one hand was the old call to work for Social Justice; on the other the poultry-farm and the rest and freedom he had tried to find and failed. Either the old call or the poultry-farm

would have to be neglected. The call was not. The farm was shandoned.

Mr. Applegarth went to live nearer town in 1901, and there he stayed till 1904 when, in order to be near George Jacob Holyoake-as the old warrior for so much that is good was growing steadily feebler-he went to live in Brighton. And even at Brighton Robert Applegarth found work to do for Labour. We must remember that he was still a member of his old trade society, a fact which gave him standing in the circles of Trade Unionism. He wrote to the Brighton Trades and Labour Council making suggestions as to the policy it might adopt on certain matters it had in hand. He offered to place his services at the disposal of the Council. The Council, on several occasions, took advantage of the offer "with beneficial results," writes Mr. George Rayner, the present secretary. In April, 1906, Mr. Applegarth was made a life member of the Council, which accorded him a resolution of thanks for his services. "He was always welcomed at the Council meetings," Mr. Rayner informs me. " and listened to with great interest and attention, and many in the Brighton Council have gained much from his wide knowledge. When funds were required he was always ready and willing to assist."

Mr. Applegarth presented the Council with the nucleus of a library and has since added volumes from time to time; gifts of which members of the Council showed their appreciation by making a

bookcase in which the books could find a home. In 1912, the Council attained its majority, and, in celebrating the event, had as the principal speaker the last of the Junta.

In October, 1906, Mr. Applegarth left Brighton and went to live at Thornton Heath, in Surrey, and in November, 1907, he sold his business and retired.*

Yet retirement to Mr. Applegarth did not mean what it means to most men who have passed the three score years and ten. No sooner was he free from business cares than he turned his attention to the founding of a movement for the State training of young people in the trades and professions for which they had a bent. He had long been one of those who saw what a poor start in life was a few years' instruction in an elementary school. People knowing his capacity for work and organisation urged him to take the initiative; and he did so. The National Industrial Education League was the result. It was linked to labour of forty years before, when Applegarth called attention to the technical schools of Switzerland, and emphasised the need for a system of training in England suited to an industrial people.

^{*} The business is still carried on under the name of Applegarth and Co.

CHAPTER XVII.

1908-1911.

THE INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION LEAGUE.

The selection of a means of livelihood for a child should be a most serious and solemn business: it is now one of the most haphazard matters imaginable.

Every worker should have a chance. At present they alide down into the army of the unemployed, drifting into the unemployables who are the despair of the reformer and the menace of a well-ordered State. Better equip them in the days of adolescence for whatever business they may have a bent. The industrial classes will not always be hewers of wood and drawers of water.

-Robert Applegarth.

In 1908, Robert Applegarth began the new crusade. He initiated the organisation of a National Industrial Education League.

In August, 1909, the Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Co-operative Societies, and influential men in all walks of life were circularised. In his circular, Mr. Applegarth pointed out how "our boys now drift by thousands yearly, from our schools, into the ranks of the unemployed and unemployable—the scrap-heap of labour." "We must stop," he wrote, "this continual waste of the nation's best asset."

Mr. Applegarth smiles if one reminds him of the argument that, while the skilled labour market is often overstocked, it is but aggravating the unemployed problem so far as skilled labour is concerned, and creating a tendency to lower wages to stock it still more. He has sufficient faith in the power of a trained and intelligent people to work out its own salvation. He knows that the problem of the unemployable is much greater than that of the skilled and steady worker. Rear a trained, intelligent race and then-"They'll see they are not squeezed out of the labour market." Robert Applegarth trusts them to shape an industrial system in which they can use their talent: he is no believer in the permanence of the present order: he does not regard competition as the soul of business. In the child torn from school, with a smattering of education, when it has hardly entered its teens, and turned adrift like a cork on the storm-tossed ocean of industry—in that, he sees nothing but degeneracy for the individual and the State.

So he steadily pushed his scheme, with the result that, by September, 1910, he had secured the support of upwards of 2,500 working-class organisations—from Inverness to Plymouth and from Kilkenny to Norwich—28 members of Parliament, 129 London County Councillors, and many other representative people.*

On February 28th, 1911, the League was founded at a conference at the Guildhall, London,

Circular on "Proposed National Industrial Education League," dated Septemoer, 1919.

at which the Lord Mayor (Sir T. Vezey Strong) presided. The King, the Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith), and Mr. A. J. Balfour were among those who sent messages expressing sympathy with the movement, Mr. Asquith stating that he believed the question to be "one of the highest importance to the national welfare." Many prominent men in various walks of life were present, among them being Lord Brassey, whose reference to "my old friend, Robert Applegarth," recalled earlier days when "Tom" Brassey was one of the friends-inneed of the Unions.

By an overwhelming majority, the conference passed the following resolution, which was moved by Sir John Gorst:-" That this Conference views with grave concern the large number of children annually leaving school without practical training for definite vocations, and resolves that a national system of industrial, professional, and commercial training should be established to which the children shall pass as a matter of course (unless the parents are prepared to undertake their future training) and without interval, for a definite period, to be thoroughly trained for entering into the particular calling for which they are best fitted, such training to be under fully-qualified instructors. That the Government be urged to provide by legislation such a complete system of training free to all scholars, and the expenses thereof defrayed by the national exchequer."

Then Robert Applegarth, in his 79th year, proposed the resolution which founded the League. He said:—

This is the second time in my experience that I have had the honour of demanding a national system of instruction. The first time was over forty years ago, at a Conference held in Birmingham, which led to the passing of the Forster Education Act of 1870. It has been permitted to a few of us to stay behind and watch the working of that Act, and to me it has not been an unmixed pleasure. We find that it has taken us forty years to ascertain that many of the six million children who are compelled by law to attend school require the attention of the doctor and nurse, and then the cook, before they are fit for the teacher. We turn out of our elementary schools throughout the Kingdom every year six hundred thousand children, indifferently educated and without any sort of industrial training, leaving them to run into the blind alleys we have heard so much about, and into the workhouses and prisons. This is how the system works out in practice: Some time ago I took in hand two boys who had left one of our elementary schools. They had passed all their standards. I found them the only employment for which they were fit, that of errand boys. One of them "qualified" himself for a training ship and was sent there. The other told me he would like to go on a training ship, but that he would not steal!

In Richard Whiteing's, "No. 5, John Street," an untaught, but noble-hearted woman said: "It is too late! Why didn't you 'ketch' me while I was a kid?"

I say, in God's name, let us 'ketch' 'em while they are kids, and keep a firm grip on them until we have instructed and trained them, and thus fitted them for becoming useful and self respecting men and women.

The resolution was seconded by Sir George Kekewich.

Subsequently, the object of the League was formulated as: "To afford to every boy and girl who is educated in any school under H.M. Education Department that they shall, after having attained the age of 14, be so instructed at the cost

THE INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION LEAGUE. 301

of the country, in some trade, business, or calling as to fit them for earning their own living."

At the foundation of the League Mr. Applegarth was appointed honorary secretary, a position he afterwards held jointly. It was his hope that the League would be making its mark on public opinion before—to use his own expression—he handed in his final time-sheet. But at 79, there are limits even to the strength and activity of a Robert Applegarth. Ill-health compelled him to give up active work for the League; and the movement which, through his great energy, enthusiasm, and organising genius, had made such a promising beginning, declined. Financial support was lacking, and eventually the League was wound up.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1909-1912.

TRIBUTES.

Whose eighty winters freeze with one rebuke,
All great self-seekers trampling on the right.

—Tennyson.

For 25 years Mr. Applegarth has been a member of the National Liberal Club, and on May 22nd, 1909, he was entertained at dinner by the members, and tributes were paid to his public work and services. It was largely a night of reminiscences; of sketching the social progress which has been made during Mr. Applegarth's lifetime, with, of course, particular reference to the part he himself has played. But tribute was paid to his personal worth, no less than to his public work.

Mr. A. E. Fletcher, formerly editor of *The Daily Chronicle*, was in the chair, and nothing could have been more fitting that his comparison of Mr. Applegarth with Robert Browning's hero who

^{. . .} never turned his back, but marched breast forward, Never doubted clouds would break, Never dreamed, tho' right were worsted, wrong would triumph, Held, we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better.

"It is only right," said Mr. John Burns, the President of the Local Government Board, following up Mr. Fletcher's speech, "that I, a young man, should say that we, into whose hands the work has been put by the veterans who are here, and above all, by the lost legions that have gone, know that we owe all the vantage ground, and the fulcrum and leverage we are able to exercise, less to any intrinsic virtues of our own than to the self-sacrificing efforts of those men, who, in the dark days, stood ateadfastly in the fight for the people under circumstances that we know not We have to use with increasing power and increasing persistency that which they have given us, so that, with the generations to come, the lot of those who follow us will be better and brighter, less because of our efforts, perhaps, than because we have been better privileged than our predecessors, but mainly because of the advance guard whom Mr. Robert Applegarth so worthily represents."

The late George Howell recalled the struggles of his own early years, and remarked how nowadays workmen and employers meet round one table to discuss, in a friendly way, the conditions of labour. "I am reminded," he went on, "how when, fifty years ago, I went to one employer in order to prevent a strike in his own firm, he directly called me a liar. I said, 'Sir, I am no more a liar than you are.' Whereupon, he called in his clerk to come and kick me out of the office. That was precisely the position in which we were

placed. The employers would not listen to us. They treated us as dogs!"

Mr. Fred Maddison truly spoke of Mr. Applegarth as "a man who, in the days that have been called dark, caught the great idea that, in the final resort, all power and all influence are in the met themselves."

But when Robert Applegarth rose to respond he declared that the honours must be divided. "My old friend, George Howell, is still beside me, and I am afraid he is about the only one left of the 'Old Guard.' Let me share your expressions of goodwill with him and then I shall be happy."

It was the same when, three years later—on July 26th, 1912—at the Holborn Restaurant, Mr. Applegarth was presented with a public teatimonial to his life's work. "I take this gathering," he said, "not so much as a tribute to myself as to a group of men of whom I was one and with whom it was my privilege to work in days gone by."

This gathering was in its character a remarkable one. As Mr. G. N. Barnes, the Labour member for Blackfriars (Glasgow), observed, those who were present represented all phases of thought in industrial agitation from Mr. Harry Quelch at one end to Mr. Fred Maddison at the other,

A distinguished figure was Mr. E. O. Greening, the veteran co-operator. George Jacob Holyoake and George Howell had been the last of Mr. Applegarth's colleagues to pass to the unknown, but Mr. C. E. Howell, brother of George—since deceased—and Mrs. Holyoake Marsh,

daughter of Holyoake, were there to do honour to the old friend and comrade of their relatives. There was Captain the Hon. Fitzroy Hemphill, who had stood up for Labour on the London County Council, and Mr. Evan Jones, London Organiser of the Carpenters and Joiners; Sir Richard Stapley, C.C., and Mr. H. L. Braekstad, the Norwegian Vice-Consul; Mr. Herbert Burrows, and Mr. H. J. May of the Co-operative Union.

The chair was taken by Mr. Aaron Watson, a portion of whose graceful and accurate estimate of Mr. Applegarth's character may well be given here.

"'Your true Briton,' it has been said, 'is one of the slowest of heaven's creatures." Mr. "That is, perhaps, true; Watson remarked. but Mr. Applegarth's experience has been long enough and satisfactory enough to entitle him to share Galileo's confidence that the world moves. He himself has been one of the motive forces. is a great and necessary thing that we should always have amongst us men whose hearts are full of a burning indignation against all forms of They produce that healthy ferment through which things ultimately become more or less right. Mr. Applegarth is one of those who, for purposes of disparagement, are called agitators. As applied to him, I find that to be a word of high commendation. He has agitated in favour of every good cause which has needed the help of earnest minds during, at least, sixty years; and some memorable good causes he has originated

himself, for he has not been content to condemn and denounce. He has been one of the creative spirits. When the story of the education of the poor man's child cemes to be written with any exactness, he will be named among the first conscripts in that great movement. He has always been crying 'Forward,' generally in a very insistent voice.''

After a reference to some special aspects of Mr. Applegarth's work, Mr. Watson went on: "What we can only know of piecemeal, as it were, are—

The little nameless, unremembered acts that have filled up the intervals of the life of as restive and helpful a little man as ever walked slong a London street. I suppose he must have done almost as much to help his poorer neighbours to get their Old Age Pensions as if he had been a paid official. . . . But old as he has become, he has not abated a jot of heart or hope, of his confidence in the possibility of human betterment, or of his desire and determination to hasten, if by ever so little, the good that is coming to mankind. Was there ever a man more undaunted? Was there ever one of his years who more completely realised Tennyson's description—

Eager hearted as a boy when first he leaves his father's field.

I give you the health of the sound workman in many fields, the veteran soldier in the 'war of the liberation of humanity,' the last of the Old Guard of Labour—Robert Applegarth."

Writing of tributes, we may note that Professor H. S. Foxwell, who was unable to attend the dinner at the National Liberal Club, estimated the work of Mr. Applegarth—in a letter of explanation—as being "invaluable to the cause of Labour; it ought never to be forgotten."

"I remember," Mr. Foxwell wrote, "reading in The Times, not at that time generally friendly to Trade Unions, a long article, headed 'A Model Trade Union.' It was a description of the Amalgamated Carpenters' Union, of which Mr. Applegarth was the secretary. Wise management like his won over public opinion and made the way easy for legislative reforms."

CHAPTER XVIII.

1910-1913.

STILL FOR LABOUR.

Charge once more, then, and be dumb! Let the victors, when they come, When the forts of folly fell, Find thy body by the wall.

-MATTHEW ABNOLD.

To-day, over half-a-century has passed since Robert Applegarth became a leader of his fellow-workers in Sheffield, but if the toll which years of service take makes him less able, he was never more eager to extend to Labour a helping hand. He finds much to do. He is in touch with all the many aspects of the workers' movement to-day and his mind marches with the times. He has lived up to Browning's lines—

Man must pass from old to new, From vain to real, from mistake to fact, From what once seemed good to what now proves best.

He insists on the necessity for organising the Unions on the basis of industry rather than of craft and holds up the vision of even greater unity. In February, 1911, he spoke at a meeting in connection with the London movement for closer union of the Carpenters and Joiners, the Cabinet-makers, and the Furnishing Trades; but he took the meeting beyond that. "Isn't it time," he said, "you stopped talking of woodworkers, iron workers, and other sorts of workers. dropped Amalgamated this, Associated that, and Equitable the other, and all banded in one giant organisation called the United Workers?"

He rejoices at the unrest. In times of strikes timorous Liberals will come to him and remark that "times are bad." "Aye," he will respond, "and they'll be worse before they're hetter"; and he will proceed to urge "production for use and not for profit," as the only cure for the unrest of Labour; as it is the only way by which the labourer can get his fair share of the wealth he produces. All the time he talks with the fire of the newest recruit to Socialism.

But his hatred of strife, before reason has been given a chance, leads him to favour legal provision for compelling parties in an industrial dispute to meet each other before they strike or lock-out. Failing agreement, however, the right to strike or lock-out must remain intact; there must be no compulsion to accept terms imposed by any person or body of persons, and, above all, the employers must meet, not their "genuine workman" from the workshop, but the representatives of the men's organisations.

Robert Applegarth recognises that Labour to-

day can afford to hit harder than it did in the 'sixties, when a too great aggressiveness would have given rise to an opposition movement which the working class, under the then Labour laws, and without political power, would have been powerless to resist, and which might have put back the Labour movement for a generation. Knowing the bitterness of the fight, and with the keenest realisation of the indefensible insecurity and poverty with which the mass of the people are afflicted, he is not surprised at the length to which some people go in their denunciation of modern acciety, and he would never play into the enemy's hands by dissociating himself from a man who might do, or say, an unwise thing in a good cause.

After the testimonial dinner, referred to in the previous chapter, a remark made by Mr. Applegarth eloquently illustrated this phase of his The dinner took place shortly after character. the famous "prayer" in which Mr. Ben Tillett led the transport strikers, on Tower Hill. It was an episode which caused many who were counted as sympathisers to turn on the man who, though he had opposed the idea of the strike, believing it to be impolitic at the time, once the men were out fought for them hard and loyally and was too big a man to aid the enemy by announcing to the world that he had not been as other men were. There were those who forgot the little children who were daily dying in East London, owing to the employers' refusal to meet the men, and who

urged the other Union leaders to disown Mr. Tillett. Not so Robert Applegarth. When he rose to speak at the dinner the hour was getting late and, condensing his remarks at the last moment, he left unsaid some things he had wished to say. But he said to me afterwards, in a tone which betokened the keenest regret, "How I wish I'd had time to say something about Ben Tillett's affair; I wanted to make that man feel that he didn't stand alone"; meaning that the speech had come from the heart and not the head, and while indiscreet was not to be condemned as vicious.

We have seen how, in 1870, Mr. Applegarth wrote that Trade Unions would never give up the right to spend their money in the way that was thought best by the majority of their members. So his attitude on the Osborne Judgment may be readily surmised. In his view, nothing but the complete restoration of their political rights should satisfy the Trade Unionists.

When the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners celebrated their Jubilee, in 1910. Applegarth travelled all over the country addressing meetings held in celebration of the event. The small figure of the white-haired old pilot was seen on the platform at Sheffield, Oxford, Ipswich, Leeds, Manchester, and Bristol. The voice which, half-a-century back, was pleading the power of organised labour, was still strong, and the incisive gesture, so indicative of the spirit and earnestness of the man, had not left him. At

Bristol he made a strong appeal for the restoration of the rights of the Unions.

"It is simply waste time," he said, "to talk of a man's outraged views and of a breach of faith because tens of thousands of organised workers have, after much deliberation and cost, decided that the interests of the great body of workers will be best served by pursuing a certain policy, and have declined to pursue the policy advised by the few. To say that trouble has come upon the Trade Union movement by an unwise policy is contrary to facts and experience. Were it true, then I plead guilty to being the worst of all criminals. My regret is that I am the only one alive of that band of conspirators who, in the 'sixties, led the Trade Unions into politics. And why? Because, after years of fruitless struggle and strife, after years of going cap in hand to Members of Parliament, begging for legislation for the protection of our funds, and for the right to organise to improve our position as workers, we were driven to political action. The legislation which followed in 1871 placed us in the enjoyment of certain rights. which up to the Osborne Judgment we have exercised. It was not any unwise policy of the Trade Unions that led to the Osborne Judgment; the Judgment was caused by a few whose views were easily outraged, because they could not agree with hundreds of thousands of their fellow workers. They have consciences which must be protected; but they forget that consoientious men were burnt at Smithfield by other men

equally conscientious, and that while every man has a perfect right to urge his own individual views, in season and out of season, there is a period when he must submit to the will of the majority, as Parliament, Corporations, Trade and Co-operative Congresses have to do. Instead, however, of deliberating with their fellow workers these men prefer to resort to law, assisted by lawyers willing to work at cost price. We have moved in time-honoured ways too long-until those ways no longer deserve to be honoured. They are worn out. New men and new conditions requiring new ways are now demanding a better, a higher and nobler life for the workers, and I am hopeful enough to believe that I shall live to see a better state of things. If not, then we must conclude, like Charles Mackay's preachers, many years ago:-

Fate is law, and law is perfect,
If ye meddle ye will mar,
Change was rash, and ever was so,
We are happy as we are—

but I will never believe it. I will keep on working in new and improving ways till the last hour of my life."

Eager as ever to seize an opportunity to encourage Trade Unionism, Mr. Applegarth turned to good account certain happenings at Thornton Heath station, on the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway during the railway strike of 1911. At that station, only two

men came out, and for the "loyal" men a grateful public subscribed a sum which worked out at about 11s. per head. Applegarth was not going to allow Trade Unionists to suffer for standing by the railwaymen's cause. He initiated a movement, whereby he and others subscribed a much larger sum than had fallen to the lot of the "loyal" men and this was presented to the strikers at a public meeting at Croydon, Applegarth making the presentation. "I still regard strikes in the social world," he said, "as I do wars in the political world. Both are crimes unless justified by absolute necessity. How is it that the recent strikes and other strikes have taken place? Men do not deliberately throw up their bread and go on strike without some cause. If people will read more of the sufferinge of the workers in the past and of how they still suffer they will see the cause of this great industrial upheaval "*

With the instinct of the old warrior, Robert Applegarth, even to-day, is drawn to the scenes of industrial conflict. During the national strike of miners he was at the Westminster Palace Hotel day after day, when the leaders were deliberating; but he never intruded any advice, beyond the terse remark, "Sit tight!" when parting with old friends. He was seen to warmly greet the younger men—the "extremists"—from South Wales, and extend good wishes and congratulations. It was never any effort to him

[·] Croudon Chronicle, September 30th, 1911.

to be tolerant to men who may be in advance of their time, or to recognise the usefulness of the part they play.

When the London Transport Workers fought their fight—memorable for great heroism—at the London docks in the summer of 1912, those whose business it was to help the hungry in the East knew where lay the heart of Robert Applegarth. He would find his way to Tower Hill, to the daily meetings of the men who grew more gaunt as the weeks slipped by. Once, on the Hill, he was greeted by Mr. Tillett. Mr. Tillett urged the veteran to address the men; but the big heart of Robert Applegarth was "too full."

One morning, during the miners' strike, I called on Mr. Applegarth to discuss some matters relative to this work; but we did nothing. He waived the whole matter saide: there was something more important. He produced The Daily Chronicle, which contained a long interview with the late Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, who had stated that the miners' demands were not only just but reasonable, and that the State should take over those mines the owners of which refused "Here." Mr. to grant the miners' claims. Applegarth remarked, " is an employer who has stepped out from his class and declared himself on the side of the men. I think it my duty as an old worker to back him up." So, then and there, he dictated his views and would not rest till they were at the office of the Chronicle, in the columns of which they appeared on the

following day. On the matter of nationalisation, Mr. Applegarth stated: "Pray let there be no more whining about where the money is to come from. We have had evidence enough in the past of how the labour of the workers of the country has produced an accumulation of wealth beyond that of any other country in the world. . . . If, as some predict, some of the mines will have to be closed if the men's demands are granted, may I suggest that a thorough examination, by practical and scientific experts, might lead to a better system of management which would enable mines, worked under the old system at a loss, to be worked under a new system at a profit?"

The episode was typical of Robert Applegarth; so quick to see the opportunity and quick to use it; so ready to put first things first.

The lot of several old agitators has been rendered easier in their declining years through the agency of Mr. Applegarth. He collected £1,000 to purchase George Howell's fine library for the use of the public at the Bishopsgate Institute, London; and for Howell, Edward True love, and Holyoake he collected handsome testimonial funds. Similarly, he aided Frederick Lessner and the widow of Ernest Jones. It was once remarked to Holyoake that it was strange that Applegarth should give so much time and thought to others. "Oh!" responded Holyoake, "that's like Applegarth. You don't know him." And in every case the balance sheet was marked "Expenses, nil."

Holyoake himself benefited by that kindly. thoughtful spirit. When nearly deaf and blind, and nearing his ninetieth year, Robert Applegarth was his faithful companion. Many a time, after Holyoake had come up to town from Brighton, Applegarth—before he lived there—on pretence of having a day or two's rest by the sea, saw him safely back to Brighton and then returned himself by the next train. As Holyoake grew feebler, Applegarth, as we have seen, went to live at Brighton in order to be constantly near him. Mr. Aaron Watson has drawn a touching picture of the association of the two men in the evening of their lives. "When one came up to London," writes Mr. Watson, "the other came with him, to assist him in all needful ways, to protect him, to be eyes and ears to him, just as if he were an affectionate boy attending to his aged grandparent. It was a beautiful thing to watch, this carefulness of one old man for his Holyoake seemed to hear Applegarth without the asistance of his ear-trumpet. The last words that passed between them were at the side of his death-bed at Brighton-

I have warmed both hands at the fire of life, It sinks, and I am ready to depart,

said the dying man, quoting Walter Savage Landor, in a voice that was only a whisper. 'If there is anything I can do for you, night or day, you know where to find me,' said Applegarth. There was a final clasp of the hands and

in a few days George Jacob Holyoake was no more."*

Of a brave company, Robert Applegarth is the last.

* * *

Robert Applegarth is still living at Thornton Heath, and at his home the education of his bright, adopted boy is, to him, the most joyful of duties. If you go to see him, it is as likely as not that you will hear the tap of a hammer, or the whirr-rr of a lathe, as you approach the little parlour. On entering, you may find the old man at work with his tools carrying out some small repairs; or you may see the white head bent over the boy's, at the lathe, where the two are deep in some mechanical work. For Robert Applegarth loves to use his hands. He will greet you in the cheeriest fashion and explain, with a twinkling eye, that he is the journeyman's apprentice.

On most days he goes up to town. If he is waiting for a train you will find him, as often as not, talking with some railwaymen; talking Trade Unionism and of the need and power of the unity of Labour. In town, you may find him at the National Liberal Club, where he is indeed in the van; or you may discover him at the great premises of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, or at the office of the Labour Party. His interest in the party is very keen and he is always sure of a friendly welcome at the party's headquarters.

^{• &}quot;Millgate Monthly," June, 1908.

"We are fully conscious," Mr. J. S. Middleton, the assistant secretary of the party, wrote to me, "of the work Applegarth achieved in the old days; the amount of heavy spadework men like Applegarth accomplished when it was much more risky to count oneself a Trade Unionist than it is now. We are only too glad to realise that his interest in the newer movement persists through all the years."

Every branch of the modern working-class movement claims his sympathy and interest. I have seen him on the platform at a great demonstration of the British Socialist Party, constantly applauding, and nodding approval of, the speakers' denunciations of the wage system.

An old worker in the Socialist movement, an admirer of Mr. Applegarth, said to me once: "Of course, the old man has never really been one of us, but that was because he was born too soon!"—which is probably true, for Robert Applegarth was ever in the foremost line and had a vision of a world for those that work.

He cannot relinquish work which may further the realisation of that vision. The strikes of hotel workers, last spring, were warmly supported by him, and when matters had quietened down he received a special resolution of thanks, for his "interest and active sympathy," from the General Council of the Hotel, Club, and Restaurant Workers' Union, and was elected the first honorary member of that organisation.

For a number of years he had done what he

could for-to use his own words-"the underground slaves who toil and sweat in unhealthy dungeons while we toast the King and Royal Family over their heads "; but for none was he more ready to work than for the boys. At a great London club, where he had influence, he caused an investigation to be made which gave to the page-boys a nine-hours day, with an hour for dinner; prior to which they had been on duty from 8 a.m. till midnight! Moreover, at midnight the "dormitory" they went to was twelve feet below the level of the ground. It was rightly styled by Applegarth—the writer himself has seen it-"a glorified coal-hole." The boys now sleep near the roof. It was some waiters' knowledge of this good work which led to his association with the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union.

The efforts for closer union of the Co-operative movement, the Trade Union movement, and the Labour party he loves to help on. He spoke in a way which aroused a scene of enthusiasm at a conference in connection with the movement in the Memorial Hall, London, in February last. There would be, he said, many hard battles ahead and Labour's many and powerful enemies would have to be fought. "But," he exclaimed, "had I twenty more years at my disposal I would willingly spend them in fighting Labour's worst of all enemies, which is not the capitalist or the sweating employer we hear so much about, bad though they may be, but the apathy and indifference of many of my own class."

Mr. Applegarth said, at the time, that the speech he made at the conference would be the last he should make in public. Mr. A. E. Fletcher, hearing of this decision, wrote what follows, which is given, not as a panegyric—well-deserved though that may be—but because of its accuracy.

"I feel it hard to believe," Mr. Fletcher wrote, "that my dear old friend Applegarth has given us his swan song. Although he is in his eightieth year he is one of the youngest men that I know; young in ideas of life and duty, young in his devotion to good works, young in his enthusiasm for the cause of the workers and the poor and in his hopes for their ultimate emancipation from the economic conditions which make them slaves of Capitalism and Landlordism. Cicero at eighty began learning Greek, and not a few men have done great work after they passed fourscore years: Goethe, Gladstone, and Tennyson; to mention no others. During the years that I have known Mr. Applegarth, he has always struck me as constantly renewing his youth. He is, in fact, one of those men who keep the world young. His horizon, always a far one, has widened with his years, and in the autumn of his life it is coloured with a glow which I hope and believe is not to fade for years to come. In spite of reverses and disappointments, of which he has had his share, he has worked bravely on, with unfaltering faith in the justice of the cause which he has so eloquently pleaded. The worst of all his disappointments

has been, like that of all great social reformers, the apathy of those for whose betterment he has so strenuously worked. He has been an untiring advocate of the education of the working classes. and it was his hope to crown his life-work by founding a League with that object. No man knows better than he that knowledge is power and that ignorance is the mother of devotion not only to superstition but to everything else that is bad and reactionary. His ideas of education of the masses are not those of University prigs, but of the great educational reformers like Ruskin, who clearly saw that the object of education is not to make boys and girls calculating machines, but good, honest, and capable citizens. Like Ruskin, he does not attach much importance to teaching children how much 93lbs. of bacon come to at 93d. per lb., but very great importance to training their faculties of observation and imagination, and getting at their brains through their hands and eyes and ears. His voice is as clear as ever it was, and I hope he will reconsider his resolution not to let it be heard again on the platform."

It is not improbable that that hope will be realised. Mr. Applegarth had made his "last" speech several times before he spoke at the Memorial Hall conference. It is doubtful whether he, or anyone else, will ever know beforehand when his voice is publicly to raise its final plea for the liberty of Labour. He will never

voluntarily drop out of the ranks. The shadows of his life are lengthening, but the spirit was never more buoyant or more bright, the conviction that through humanity to humanity great good will come was never stronger. Among the bodies that are found by the wall will be Robert Applegarth's.

FINIS.

INDEX.

Abrehem, W., 275. Adame, Francis, 204. "Admiralta Cochrane," Aerophore, Description of, 265. Agricultural labourers: T.U. among, 178; prizes distri-buted to, 181. Allan, William, 16, 21, 28, 41, 17, 81. Annuities Bill, Unions and, 52. Anstruther, Sir Robert, 80. Amos, Sheldon, 251. Amplegerth, R., Birth, 1; work as boy, 1, 2; mother's death, 2; moves to Sheffield, 2; father's death, 3; Sheffield, 3; marries, emigrates to America, work in America, 4; America, 4; at a slave esle, 5; speaks egainst slavery, 6; returns to Eng-land, 6; joins trade union, 7; etarts Sheffield Co-7; etarts Sheffield Cooperative Society, 7; elected
Union president and secretary, 7; on beginings of
A.S.C. & J., 10; elected
general secretary, A.S.C. &
J., 15; on deputation to Roebuck, 17; personslity and
style as epeaker, 18; selery
as general secretary, 19; estimate of character as leader, style as epeaker, 18; salary as general secretary, 19; estimate of character as leader, 20; faith in co-operation, 22; starts Monthly Report, 22; on highest duty of T.U., 23; on aiding the weak, 24; warned by Alian rs politice, 26; elected to London Traces Council, 25; attacks Labour laws, 27; pleads for politics in T.U., 28; places education first, 29; on T.U. dragging down the skilful, 31; on reckless contracting, 32; supports arbitration, 33, 33, 34; at Statistical Society, 36; attacks Free Labour Association, 37: at Social Science Association, 42, 45; evidence heiore Commission on Scientific Instruction, 45; and Reform movement, 57-22; writes Shaffield Independent supporting Mundella, 56; attacks Roebnek, 76; Shaffield Independent; 11; Maidstone candidature, 71; independent apporting Mundella, 56; attacks Roebnek, 76; Shaffield Independent; 31; and French Republic, 74; and Communards, 75; and "Scott Russell Plot," 78; and American Ambassador, 30; on Co-op. Union Board, and "Scott Russen Flue, or, and American Ambassador, 80; on Co-op. Union Beard, 81; and capital punishment, 81; on deputation to Palmereton, 88; joins "International," 25; elected chair-

man of, 95; speaks at "International" Congress, 192, 193, 107, 198; criticised by Times, 199, 114; enswers Times, 115; at Franco-Prussian War, 120; at J. Brown's works, Sheffield, 126; and Midland building dispute, 1885, 127; and Care at J. Brown's works, Sheffield, 126; and Midland building dispute, 1865, 127; and Cardiff dispute, 1867, 127; and Cardiff dispute, 1867, 130; employers' opinion of, 131; at Barneley strike, 1872, 132; and Law Courts dispute, 1877, 134; helps Poet Office sorters, 135; and gas stokers' prosecution, 136; on Sheffield outrages, 147; on T.U. Bill, 1871, 189; lectures at Cardiff on T.U., 1868, 171; in Ireland, 174; at Scarborough, 178; st miners' strike, 1888, 171; in Ireland, 174; at Scarborough, 178; st miners' strike, 1888, 171; in Preland, 174; at Scarborough, 178; st miners' strike, 1888, 171; in Ireland, 174; at Scarborough, 178; st miners' strike, 1888, 171; in Ireland, 174; at Scarborough, 178; st miners' strike, 1888, 171; in Ireland, 174; at Scarborough, 188; starts technical classes, 122; joins National Education League, 129; joins vating at Scarborough, 171; 188, 220; investigates Swies education, 222-226; stende for School Board, 229; as War Correspondent, 233-239; appointed on Royal Commission, 241, 252; resigns T.U. secretaryship, 243; farewell as General pondent, 233-239; appointed on Royal Commission, 241, 252; resigns T.U. secretaryship, 243; farewell as General Secretary, 245; work on C.D. Commission, 252-257; on Lambeth Vestry, 258; starts Free Bridges Association, 258; work for same, 252-252; offer operation at Board of Trade, 253; secretary to E. Jenkins, 264; enters commerce, 264; in Germany, 264; with serophore at Wigan, 265; down Cwm Avon mine, 267; with serophore in vet, 259; examinas Daunt's Rock and "Vanguard" wrack, 259; daving in Humber, 270; superintends diving pavilion, 270; superintends diving pavilion, 270; 371; offers evidence to Labour Commission, 271; and East Ham sewer disaster, 273; writes T. Burt safety in mines, 274; takes np electric lighting, 278; work with the light, 279; 808, 281, 283; elected Institute of Electric Engineers, 268; his inventions, 287; engineer at Crystal Palace, 287; connection with refrigersting apparatus, n. 287; candidate for Crystal Palace, 287; connection with Pelace Board, 288; on agitarefrigerating apparatus, n. 287; candidate for Crystal Palace Board, 288; on egitatora, 290; lounds Epsom Coop. Society, 291; visits C.W.S. works, 222; detends public rights at Epsom, 292; elected Epsom Local Board, 293; etarts noultry farming, 294; on Brighton Trades Connell,

etarts Industrial Edu-235; etarts Industrial Edu-cation League, 236; speech at foundation of eame, 301; tri-bntes to, 303-308; on industrial unioniem, 310; on etrikee, 310; and etrikere, "prayer," 311; on Oeborne judgment, 312; with minere leaders, 315; with transport etrikere, 316; on miner nationalisation 315; with transport strikers, 316; on mines nationalisation, 317; aids old agitators, 318; ins life to-day, 319; elected to Hotelworkers' Union, 321; work for page boys, 321; and unity of Labour, 321.

rphitration: See Applegarth and Manufallo.

Arbitration: Se and Mundello. Aequith, H. H., 300.

Balfour, A. J., 300.
Barnes, G. N., 305.
Beales, Edmond, 60.
Beckton gas-stokers' prosecution, 136.
Beeely, E. S., 10, 40, 75, n. 85; opinion of A, 288.
Bethell, Sir Richard, 28.
Boilermakers' Society and Friendly Societies' Acts. 41 Friendly Societies' Acts, 41.
Booth, James, 151, Booker, Frederick, 28.
Braeksted, H. L., 306.
Bradlangl, Charles, 75.
Braesey, Lord, 300.
Bright, Jacob, 80, 251.
Bright, John, 112.
Broadhead, William, 189, 162.
Bruce, H. A., 101, n. 102, 143, 168, 185, 251.
Buckmaster, J. C., 76.
Bucknill, Mr. Justice, 292.
Builders, Masters' Associations, 11, 27, 127.
Building trades: lock-out, Lon-Friendly Societies Acte, 41. 11, 27, 127.

Building trades: lock-out, London, 1859, 9; Times on, 11;

Midlands dispute, 1865, 127;

Law Courte dispute, 1877, 134.

Burne, John, 306.

Burt, T., 275.

Butler, Josephine, 250, 251, 255, 256.

Cameron, A. C., 96.
Carnarvon, Earl, 78.
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamsted Society of, loundation, 11; Lifeboat fund, 23; loans to foreign workers, 24; first New York and Irish branches, 46; Times article on, 46; Fortnightly Review article on, 46; Fortnightly Review article on, 46; Fortnightly Review article on, 48; affiliated to "International," 35; financial soundness of, 157; technical classes, 193; headquarters removed to Manohester, 247.
Chamberlain, Arthur, 318.

Churchill, Winston, 274. Cobden, Richard, 39, 113. Cochrane, Baillie, Collinge, Jesse, 204. Conference of A Amalgamated Trades, 40.
Co-operation: See Applegarth.
Co-operative Union, foundation,

Chamberlain, Joseph, 204, 217,

81. Commonwealth, The, 119. Contagious Diseases Acts, origin, 248; in England, 249; agitation againet, 249-251; Mill'e opinion of, 252; Royal Commission on, 251. See also Commission on, 251. See also Applegarth.
Coote, Holmes, 252.
Cotton-epinners, n. 25, 69.
Coulson, Edwin, 16, 41, 81.
Cowper-Temple, W., 252.
Cremer, W. R., 81, 89, 94.
Crompton, Henry, 40; estimates
Applegarth's work, 47.

Dawson, George, 129, 205, 206.
Despointes, F., 266.
Denayrouze, Auguste, 264.
Denayrouze, Louis, 284.
Dilke, Sir Charles, 168, 220, 234.
Dell, William, 93.
Devonshire, Duke of, 46.
Disraeli, Benjamin, 78, 186.
Dixon, George, 198, 204, 230.
Dixon, Major, 60.
Douglas, Frederick, 6.
Dronfield, William, 63, 163.

Earle, Sir William, 70, 151, 158. Eccarius, George, 75, 96, 119. Edison, Thomas, 283, 284, 286. Education: See Applegarth, National Education League, National Industrial Educa-Naturnal Industrio Educa-tion League. Edwards, John, 259. Edwards, E., 274. Eglinton, John, 89. Elcho, Lord, 151. 161. Eagels, Frederick, 94, n. 96,

119. Engineere, Amalgamated Society of, 10, 21, 157.
Electric Light: First English patent, 278; public trial of eame, 278; at Times Office, 280; football matches by, 282; gas companies and, 283; gas companies and, 283; scepticism as to, 284; Punch on, 285. See also Applegarth.

Facey, T. G.; 14, 59, 89, 119. Factory and Workshop Bill (1895), 272. (1895), 272.
Fawcett, Henry, 168, 208.
Ferry, Jules, 76.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E., 168.
Fietoher, A. E., 303; estimate of Applegarth, 377.
Flourens, Guetav, 76.
Foxwell. H. S., estimate of Applegarth, 308. Forster, W. E., 72, 226, 221.
Foster, le Nève, 46.
Fowler, William, 251.
Fowler, F. H., 259.
Franco-Prussian War, see also
Applegarth.
Free Bridges Association, 258.

Garibaldi, visits London, 55.
Garrison, William Lloyd, 6.
Giffard, P., 287.
Girard, Stephen, 79.
Gladstone, W. E., 41; on
Friendly Scoieties, 53, n. 54;
on Trade Unions, 54, 55; on
Liberal Party and franchise,
56; writes Applegarth rs
Sheffield election, 65; and
Plimsoll, 199; 220, 287.
Goodard, C., 89.
Gooch, Sir D., 151.
Gorst, Sir J., 300.
Green, T., 210.
Greening, E. G., 305.
Grey, Earl, 220.
Guile, Daniel, 16, 41, 77, 204.

Hales, John, 119.

Hannan, Benjamin, 134, 230.

Hardinge, Lord, 250.

Hardy, Gathorne, 78.

Harvey, W. E., 275.

Harrison, Frederic, 40, 70, 151, 155, 167; opinion of Applegarth, 288.

Head, Sir E. W., 151.

Hemphill, Hon. Fitzroy, 306.

Hoare, Sir Henry, 168.

Herbert, Auberon, 215, 234.

Hodgson, W. B., 205.

Holyoake, G. J., 78, 79, 216, 317, 318.

Houghton, Lord, 80.

Howell, George, 60, 74, 81, 204, 218, 304, 317.

Howell, C. E., 305.

Hughes, Thomas, 40, 145, 151, 167.

Huley, T. H., 205, 230, 252.

Illingworth, Alfred, 220.
International Working Men's
Association: Influence on
English Unions, 25: origin,
84; foundation of, 89; English Trade Unions and, 83;
Brussels Congress (1868), 95: Basle Congress (1868), 95:109;
attacked by Times, 109; misrepresentation of, 112; disruptive influences, 118; causes of
decline, 119; and FrancoPrussian War, 120; Dlsbanded, 123. See also Marz.

Jablochkoff, P., 278, 280. James, Walter, 252. Jenkin, Fleeming, 76, 193. Jenkins, E., 264. Jevons, Stanley, 45, 230. Jones, Evan, 308. Jones, Ernest, 182, 317.
Jones, Lloyd, 69, 77, 210.
Jung, Hermann, 96, 119.
"Junts," the: Composition of, 18; in reality "Conference of Amalgamated Tades," 40; and T.U. Bill, 167.

Kingsley, Charles, 205.

Labour, Royal Commission on (1892), 221.
Labour Representation League, 73, 229.
Lewrence, Sir J. C., 262.
Lawrence, Sir T., 282.
Leticester, Earl of, 189.
Lennox, Lord, 78.
Lessner, Frederick, 96, 317.
Lichfield, Earl, 78, 151, 180.
London National Women's Suffrage Society, 80.
London Trades Council, 25, 51.
Longuet, Jesn, 125.
Lubbock, Sir John, 72, 73.
Lucratt, Benjamin, 38, 232.
Ludlow, J. M., 23, 40, 42.
Lushington, Godlrey, 40.
Lushington, Godlrey, 40.

Maclaren, Mrs. D., 257. Maddison, F., 304. Manchester National Association for Rete-paid Education,

Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Aesociation, see Reform Movement.

Manners, Lord, 78.
March, Mrs. Holyoake, 396.
Marlborough, Lord, 291.
Marr, Karl, 85, 93, n. 96, 118, 119, 120.
Matthews, William, 151.
Maurice, F. D., 252.
Matmakers and prison labour, 185.
Matmakers and prison labour, 185.
Matmakers and Servants Acts: amendment of (1867), 59; Glassgow Trades Council, and, 51; Applegarth on, 52, 69.
May, H. J., 396.
Merivale, H., 151.
Mill, J. S. 230.
Merivale, H., 151.
Mill, J. S. 230.
Moniers: Strike at Sheffield, 178; national strike, 315.
Moniegue, Lord, 82.
Monley, Lord, 93.
Morley, Samuel, 64, 168.
Mundella, A. J.: Applegarth's first meeting with, 34; success of Arbitration Board, 35; agrees to stend for Sheffield, 63; on trade combinations, 63; writes Applegarth during election campaign, 68; trihute to Applegarth during election campaign, 68; trihute to Applegarth, 17; and T.U.
Bill, 188; at National Education League, 21; 220, 221, 252, 271. See also Applegarth.
Murphy, G. M., 81

Netional Education League:
Origin, 189; aims, 301; viewe
of promoters, 202; first general
meeting, 204; deputation to
Government, 220; shandoned,
232. See also Applegarth.
National Industrial Educational League: Begun by
Applegarth, 236; founded at
Gnildhall, 299; wound up,
302. See also Applegarth.
Neapolitan Workmen, General
Sooiety of, 25.
Neate, Charles, 40.
Newton, William, 21. Nestc, Unaries, 49.
Newton, William, 21.
New York World, 79.
Nine Honra Movement, 8.
Normensell, John, 177.
Northoote, Sir Stafford, 7.
Norwood, Charles M., 188.

Odger, G., 16, 18, 33, 41, 59, 74, 77, 85, 87, 93, 113, 204.

Page, Flood, 287.
Pakington, Sir John, 78, 252.
Palmereton, Lord, 86.
Pears, Sir Edwin, 133.
Peek, Sir H., 262.
Pennington, Mrs. F., 256.
Petheridge, William, 69.
Piokard, W., 267.
Plimsoll, S., protest in t.
House of Commons of, 185.
Playfair, Dr. Lvon, 80 the Playfair, Dr. Lyon, 80. Polish League, 85. Potter, George, 52. Preece, Sir W., 284, 286.

Queich, H., 305.

Railway strike (1911), 314. Rapieff, 260, 286. Reed, Sir E. J., 280, n. 287. Reform Movement: Mentorm Movement:
Manhood Suffrage and Vote
hy Ballot Association, 57; Reform League iounded, 59;
Hyde Park railings go down,
60; Demonstrations, 61; Upper Clase alerm, 62,
Riohmond, Duke of, 78.
Rochdele Pioneers, met by
Applegarth, 7.
Roebuck, J. A., 17, 63, 70, 151,
159 Rogers, Thorold, 210, 230. Ross, Sir James Clarke, 2. Ruakin, John, 43 Russell, Lord John, 29. Rassell, Lord of Killowen, 262, 274, 233. Rylands, P., 252.

Salishury, Lord, 78. Sandiord, Arohdescon, 205. Sandwith, Humphry, 234. Shaw, Captain, 271. Sheffield: Mundella'e campaign. at (1866), 63.71; Trade Union

outrages, 139, 145, 162. See also Applegarth and Mundella. Shuttleworth, Sir James Kaye, Singer, Captain, 270. Smith, Goldwin, 46. Statistical Society, see Applegerth. Stapley, Sir R., 306. Steinthal, A. S., 218. Stepney, Cowell, 96. Strong, Sir T. V., 300.

Tellier, C., 287.
Tillett, B., 311, 316.
Townsend, Marquis, 82.
Trade Unions: likened to Profred Unions: likened to Profred Unions: likened to Profred Unions: largalised rede Unione. tection, 112; international tection, 125; legalised growth of, 125; legalised (1871), 170.

Trade Union Congress, Parllamentery Committee of, 18.

Trade Union Commission (1867); Applegarth writes Gladstone re Inquiry, 142.

Applegarth interviews Bruce, 143. Applegarth nrges a ment of, 147
Deputations ditto, 149. Appointment announced, 150.
Duties of, n. 150.
Welpole and composition of,
150. Members of, 151. Sheffield examiners, 151. Applegarth's evidence before, 152-161. 152-161.
Sheffield revelations, 162.
Reports, 164.
Applegarth on Reports, 165.
Harrison'e Bill, 167.
ransport. Workers' strik Transport Workers' (1912), 316.
Truelove, Edward, 317.
Tucker, Robert, 156, 159.
Twist, H., 275.
Tynall, J., 281.

United States National Union of Labour, 98. Universel League for Amelior-ation of Condition of People of all Nations, 82.

"Vanguerd," wreck of, 269. Vince, Charles 220. Vincent, Henry, 18.

Watson, Aaron, estimate of Applegarth, 306; 318 Weavers' strike et Barnsley (1872), 132. Wheeler, G. H., 33. Whiteing, Riohard, 63. Wilson, Sir E., 224. Wood, W. H., 211. Working Men's Club and In-stitute Union, 80.

Zincke, Rev. F. B., 220.

HD 6065 Aley H92

DATE DUE					
			· -		
GAYLORD	ı	ı	PRINTEDINIL C A		

Cornell University Library HD 6665.A64H92

Robert Applegarth, trade unionist, educa

3 1924 003 755 679

